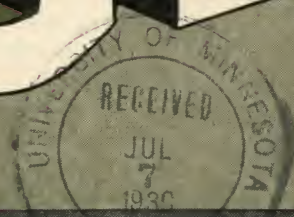


LABOR MAGAZINE



THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Practical Plans *for* Unemployment Insurance

NATHAN FINE

Independence for India

N. B. PARULEKAR

LAUNCHING THE YOUTH CRUSADE

CAMPS FOR WORKERS' CHILDREN

JULY, 1930

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Vol. XIX—No. 7

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IN THIS ISSUE

PROBABLY what will be heard more often from now on than any other phrase, whenever unemployment insurance will be mentioned, is the usual terse term: It can't be done. Since the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has launched its national drive for unemployment insurance, it is interested in having a practical answer ready whenever it crops up. Nathan Fine, Director, Labor Research Department, Rand School of Social Science, editor of the "American Labor Year Book" and author of "Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828-1928," has done an exceptional job in bringing together all the pros and cons regarding the problem of unemployment insurance and presenting a concrete answer in "Practical Plans for Unemployment Insurance."

THE butterscotch man couldn't run unless he got hot and couldn't get hot unless he ran. Something of this dilemma is implied in the story told by Colston E. Warne entitled "Teamsters Union Abandons Taxi Strikers." The Pittsburgh taxicab drivers couldn't organize unless they struck and couldn't strike if they wanted to organize and become affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc. Union. What happened before, during and after the incident, mentioned previously in these columns, makes enlightening reading. Mr. Warne, erstwhile Professor of Economics at Pittsburgh University, is active in every progressive movement started within flying distance of his always temporary domicile. Having learned how to run and get hot at the same time, and so

becoming too warm for Mr. Mellon and his steel university, Mr. Warne will exercise his influence at Amherst College and its environs next season.

CHRISTIAN gentlemen, owners of industries where the 60-hour work-week and the eight to ten dollar wage prevail, are sorely taxed when confronted with the question of what they are going to do about it. Nothing, A. J. Muste says, after many experiences with such gentlemen. In "The Christian Employer," A. J. Muste concludes that usually these employers are willing to leave things to nature, not having to work the sixty hours nor live on the ten dollars a week, themselves. But nature though efficient is many times a cruel solver of intricate problems.

SUMMER time should betoken more than ever playtime for children. Yet city streets, the usual playground for workers' children, are too dangerous and far too inadequate for proper youthful recreation. Fortunately several organizations have sprung up in existence during the past half dozen years or so which provide safe camping at low cost for children whose parents are too poor to pay the usual fancy prices demanded by private camp outfits. "A Camp for Workers' Children" by Selmar Schocken of the NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG staff, and "Vacationing with Pioneer Youth," by W. Walter Ludwig, the director of Pioneer Youth, describes two of these camps run for the benefit of workers' children. Those of our readers having this problem to meet are urged to turn to the two articles mentioned as an aid to its solution.

PROBABLY if we could project ourselves backward to the era in our history when we were still a colony of the British Empire, we could understand better the feeling that actuates the Indians in their present conflict with the English. People are becoming cynical towards national independence because a recently freed people slapped an onerous censorship on its news sources. Abuses are never tolerable but they are far less tolerable when they are initiated by a foreign power. Therefore, the story about India's present fight for independence told in this issue is all the more interesting because the author is in India engaged in the very acts he describes. Readers will find "Independence for India" full of the warmth of native enthusiasm. It was written by N. B. Parulekar, Director of the International Institute of India at Poona City, who so far as factual information is concerned, is always absolutely reliable.

WHAT the prospects are for the national unemployment insurance drive is told in "Healthy Response to Latest C. P. L. A. Campaign."

BOOK REVIEWS, Following the Fight, The March of the Machine, Flashes from the Labor World, and In Other Lands, complete this issue

• LABOR • AGE •

July, 1930

EDITORIALS

THE great Engineer who sits enthroned in the White House and who was to bring in an era of science and efficiency, banishing the crude, old-fashioned political log-rolling and chicanery, may yet go down in history as the Champion Prevaricator among American presidents.

The Engineer Keeps Engineering

His record in this regard is rapidly becoming an appalling one. Last summer when all signs pointed to an approaching economic crisis, he and his administration sang the hymn of Republican prosperity. In the fall when the crash came he blandly assured everybody that it was a very tiny crash and that prosperity would soon return in greater glory than ever. At the same time he covered the front pages of the newspapers with stuff about building and construction activities giving the impression that these would immediately relieve the situation, though he of all people understood that great construction projects are really not launched over night. He helps to stage a naval conference of which the outstanding result is "parity with Great Britain," that is, nobody may build a bigger navy than your Uncle Sam, and calls this a notable step toward world-peace. Now he signs a tariff bill monstrosity and tells the world that he realizes it has defects, but under its flexible clause he will straighten these out, though he knows full well that the same forces which compel him to swallow a tariff bill which he neither asked nor desired will keep him from seriously altering it. As Secretary of Commerce he yapped about "advance planning of public works" and a "prosperity reserve," and he now proclaims that he is doing all he can to help the workers though he has not lifted a finger to get legislation to this end or to support the Wagner unemployment bills which make a feeble beginning in this direction.

Yes, there is an unpleasant smell about. Yet we pity rather than blame the great Engineer. Politics is no game for an Engineer probably. Anyway he is caught in a vicious system.

We do blame American labor leaders who helped put Herbert in the White House—Matty Woll who did yeoman service for him by preventing the endorsement of Al Smith by the A. F. of L., and such international presidents as Hutchinson of the Carpenters and Lewis of the Miners. These brethren want to be Secretary of Labor when the peerless leader of the Moose assumes the toga of Senator from Pennsylvania. Others want lesser jobs—and the Republicans control most of them. Thus official labor maintains the non-partisan policy and blocks the formation of a Labor Party through which the workers might gain a new status and all intelligent and liberal elements in the land a rallying point of opposition to the stifling regime of Republicanism and Imperialism under which we have "prosperity" and groan.

ACCORDING to the graphic story of the Pittsburgh taxi strike related by Professor Colston Warne elsewhere in this issue, it appears to be the position of the Teamsters Union that workers must by their own efforts organize and strike, pay dues to the International Union for a number of months, etc., before they can expect any help from said International.

A Hard Club to Get Into

We are not babes in arms, and understand of course that a union cannot guarantee strike benefits to workers on the day after they join, etc., etc. When all the practical difficulties are reckoned with, however, there remains here a vicious policy and attitude. The assumption is that the union is a fine club, which it is a great privilege to join, which may keep out workers if it wants to, or may admit them after they have served a long probation and have put up enough money.

It is a pity that a union like the Teamsters which has often displayed a lot of militancy should assume such a position. No union has in the past been organized on this plan. None will be in the future. The genuine union regards itself as a missionary agency and seeks to bring in the workers. For its own sake and theirs it springs to their aid in trouble, until they learn that the union is their best and only friend. The union which becomes an aristocratic club soon degenerates further still into a racket.

OFFICIALS of New York City a few months ago voted themselves handsome salary increases ranging from \$1,000 to \$10,000 per year. Now the Board of Estimate has voted increases totalling \$519,000 per year to the poor fellows who were forgotten the last time.

Vote Yourself a Raise

These huge increases coming at a time when millions are unemployed and on the verge of destitution, when the nation and indeed the world are passing through a major economic crisis, illustrate once again how callous our rulers are toward the suffering of the masses, even under the beneficent reign of the New Capitalism, Model U. S. A. 1930!

And will you take notice, Mr. and Mrs. Worker, that this salary grab in New York City has been pulled off not by Republican officials who are supposed to represent Big Biz, but by a Democratic Party crowd? It is the Party of the Friends of the Workingman, of Jimmy Walker, of Al Smith, and of Franklin Roosevelt who is being groomed as candidate for the Presidency and who will loudly and smoothly proclaim himself your friend when the next election comes around.

THE Labor Bureau, Inc., points out that whereas the total dividend and interest payment on stocks and bonds in May, 1929 amounted to the sadly low figure of \$490,400,000, in May, 1930 "those who take from those who make," to use Oscar Ameringer's phrase, were somewhat better cared for and received \$570,300,000—in other words four-fifths of a million dollars more.

Insuring Everything But the Worker

If there be a Henry Dubb among our readers, he is perhaps scratching his noble head at this point and saying, "How come? I thought we were in a depression in 1930, and here these birds who clip coupons get a big raise?"

That, Henry darling, is due to the foresight and self-denial of said birds. Did you suppose they took out all their profits when things were going strong? Of course not. The corporations laid by a substantial surplus, "a legitimate charge on the business," to insure that profits would be paid even in some lean years when such big profits are not made.

Why should it not be a legitimate charge upon industry to lay aside a fund to insure wages to the worker when he is out of work? Everything and everybody gets insured these days, except you and your pals, Henry.

You can have unemployment insurance, as you should have, if you will insist upon a system of unemployment insurance, national in scope, provided by state or federal agencies or a combination of both. A campaign to popularize this measure among the workers has been launched by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action under the leadership of Louis F. Budenz. We urge all militant and progressive laborites and all friends of labor to rally to this campaign.

THE recent decision of the United States Supreme Court upholding the Circuit Court of Appeals of Texas in making the injunction permanent restraining the Texas and New Orleans Railroad Co. (a subsidiary of the Southern Pacific) from interfering with the members of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in electing their representatives was a great victory for railroad labor. By this decision the right is definitely established for unionization without interference on the part of the employers. This decision should be an impetus for all railroad labor organizations to strengthen their forces and establish a condition of 100 per cent unionism in the railroad industry.

Railroad Workers Achieve Notable Victory

The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks is entitled to all the honors and hearty congratulations on this occasion. Always a progressive organization it went into this fight with all the tenacity, courage and intelligence which has made it a leading international for many years.

But this victory should not raise false hopes among the trade unionists in general. It is not a *carte blanche* recognition for trade unionism. It is even doubtful, after reading the opinion of the Supreme Court, whether the Railway Brotherhood would have won had not the Southern Pacific been caught red handed in the attempt to create a company union in order to save itself thousands of dollars in a pay rise. The highest tribunal points to this attempted manipulation as one of the main reasons for upholding the lower court.

Secondly, this victory of the Brotherhood is accompanied by an opinion from the Court which points to the permanent loss of the right to strike by railroad unions. The

Court states that the Railroad Labor Act of 1926 was passed "for the more effectual protection of interstate commerce from interruption to such a degree as to deprive any section of the country of essential transportation service." We may be sure that this part of the Court's opinion will be used very effectively in the future against any railroad labor organization desiring to use the strike as a last resort to gain its ends.

While the Supreme Court's decision recognizes collective bargaining as a fact it goes out of its way to show that no coercive measures can be used to maintain the right for such bargaining except only where Congress established specific laws for the *modus operandi*. In other words, the Supreme Court decision is a great victory for Railroad labor in making definite and constitutional the provisions of the Railroad Labor Act of 1926. The workers in all the other industries are left just as they were before. The employers in the latter may still use all the well known means to prevent organization without fear of judicial retribution.

Yet again, in these days of anti-union sentiment, it is important to repeat that as far as the railroad workers are concerned, the decision was a great victory. The part the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks played in it is a good illustration of the fact that militancy plus intelligence can "bring home the bacon."

THE Indian move for independence has reached such a state as to force it to its logical end, regardless of the methods used. Thus far, pacifist non-resistance has been the choice of the Gandhi followers. It may in the end be effective enough to carry the movement along to final victory.

A Serious Business

On the other hand, the Indians have to make up their minds that freedom will come to them only after Britain shall have exhausted every means at her disposal, either in pacifying the Indians into thinking they got something just as good, or failing that, to put the uprising down by naked force.

The second installment of the Simon report, about which so much fuss was made before its publication, is no encouragement to those who had hoped the conflict would resolve itself around the conference table where differences could be amicably adjusted. Even the palest of yellow Indian liberals counsel ignoring the report, hoping to make headway at the forthcoming conference. What the Simon Commission did was to establish in the minds of the Indians, as it seems to have done to all others impartially reading the report, that Great Britain is definitely opposed to Indian independence and will fight such a tendency with all its might.

We are entirely with India in her present rebellion against British domination and for independence. Thus far the Indian people have adhered to the policy of non-resistance, and have made satisfactory headway. But even if pacifism should turn to violence India cannot be blamed. While we sympathize with the problem we cannot do otherwise but hold the Labor Party strictly accountable for the violence used in suppressing India's desire for freedom. As we had occasion to say previously, if the Labor Government could not have been more ingenious in dealing with India than to use Tory measures and reply upon Tory policies, it should have resigned the Government at once and permitted the Tories to do the job for which they are best fitted—crushing the aspirations of suppressed nationalities.

OUR capitalist economists appear to be incapable of profiting from world events. One of these, just over from England, thinks "a few healthy bankruptcies" will do that country good, insofar as the present depression is concerned. Well, this country has not only been blessed with "a few," but with bankruptcies galore, and yet they have not saved us from the present terrible economic chaos. The more bankruptcies we have the worse the situation becomes.

Anent Healthy Bankruptcies

However, bankruptcies may be healthy after all. In the sense that they further the extreme development of big business and the beginnings of social ownership and control, they are to be encouraged. The sooner the disease of capitalism runs its course, the better off we'll all be, including the capitalist economists themselves whose prescriptions are so fearfully and wonderfully compounded. In this sense we're for healthy bankruptcies, too.

NEVER having had the opportunity, the privilege or the pleasure of consorting with Presidents; never having been near enough to a Chief Executive even to execute a handshake, we do not really know the charm and the magic of such an exciting experience. Yet judging by results as presidential association effect others, the atmosphere surrounding the Executive Mansion must be charged with a potent potion acting like headwine. Dour callers leave the White House laughing hilariously; spinsters emerge crooning love lullabys.

Green Pastures

In the first few days of June, when the Wagner unemployment measure came up for consideration before the House Judiciary Committee, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, stated in support of the bill, that according to his own figures 20 per cent of the trade unionists were unemployed in May and that the situation was just as bad as it was during the dark days of January. Speaking *ad lib*, in rebuttal, he even prophesied revolution and the terrible prospects of unemployment insurance if steps to meet the unemployment situation were not taken immediately.

On June 18, however, President Green fed provocatively off the luscious green pastures of Hoover optimism and emerged from the White House serene in the assurance that all was as it should be. The unemployment situation, which looked so menacing just a few days before, was now reaching "the point of improvement" and was "decidedly encouraging."

"I am rather of the opinion," he gracefully assured the panting reporters, "that the census report will show the number of unemployed will not be as great as some have forecast," thus refuting as Green the friend of President Hoover, what Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor, said only several days previously.

But the very next day, after sufficient time had elapsed for the potency of the Hoover optimistic spell to dissipate itself in the clearer atmosphere of the open scene, William Green again saw unemployment as of real importance and chided Congress for its emasculation of the Wagner bills.

"The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor," he is reported as saying petulantly, "charge the present Congress as being an absolute failure as far as dealing constructively with the problem of unemployment." But back of the emasculation is President Hoover.

Here is where the state of mind of President William Green now resides. Yet who can tell but what at any given time in the future when he again associates with President Hoover, optimism shall not once more return and chase the dark clouds of depression into the Chinese sea. Such is the power of White House influence.

THE 50th anniversary of the A. F. of L. approaches. On its very eve the National City Bank, this country's billion dollar concern, announced that building trades' wages must come down. This means, if anything, a declaration of war against building trades unions, the backbone, at present, of the American Federation of Labor.

An Ugly Anniversary Prospect

The question naturally arises how this unionism will fare in a scrape with big capital. With building construction overdone and with thousands of building trades workers idle, the prospects are not any too tempting.

It certainly is some anniversary gift that big capital seems about to bestow on the American Labor Movement. Having eradicated the A. F. of L. from the basic industries of steel, autos, aviation, coal, food packing, etc., it looks as if big capital intends to put it out of building construction too. It is an ugly prospect for American Labor to contemplate.

THROUGH the initiative of its young, energetic Executive Secretary, Clarence Senior, the Socialist Party will devote the week of July 15-22 to holding mass demonstrations on a nation-wide scale in a vigorous effort to hasten the release of Mooney and Billings. When Senior visited Mooney a few months ago at San Quentin Prison he obtained the latter's assent to this series of meetings as a means of attracting attention to California's shame. The Socialist Party's National Executive Committee meeting in Los Angeles approved of Senior's plans and the week mentioned was set aside for these meetings.

Governor Young of California is an adept at passing the buck. He states that he is waiting to hear from the State's Supreme Court regarding clemency for Billings, promising to pardon both if the recommendation is favorable. On the other hand, the prediction is made that if Young is renominated in August, as a matter of political expediency he will refuse to pardon them.

The Socialist Party deserves the praise of all progressive laborites for having arranged these mass meetings, but why should it have been left to the Socialist Party alone to do this? If organized labor were alert and conscientiously concerned about the plight of these innocent men who have spent 14 years in jail, it, too, would have thrown itself energetically into the campaign to free Mooney and Billings and not remain satisfied with the mere adoption of resolutions. Mass protests and demonstrations in every state in the Union, and especially in California will save Mooney and Billings. Nothing else seems likely to do so.

In our national unemployment insurance drive we need the support of every one. Effectiveness of our efforts depends upon your interest. Your interest can best be shown by promptly sending your contribution to the office of the C. P. L. A.

Practical Plans For Unemployment Insurance

By NATHAN FINE

MILLIONS of wage and salaried workers are not earning enough in the United States to maintain themselves decently when unemployed. They cannot save sufficient because they do not have the surplus to put away, unless thrift is to become a positive vice. According to Paul H. Douglas, in his latest work, *REAL WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890-1926*, average annual earnings in 1926 in the special group of industries he covered, excluding farm labor, were \$1,473, or \$28.33 weekly, with no allowance for unemployment. There had been a substantial rise between 1921 and 1926. In manufacturing that year Douglas estimated earnings as \$1,309, or \$25 a week. Now, if \$28 or \$25 was the average in the golden age of American prosperity, millions of course earned less than the average. How much can be saved from \$25 even, for a year like 1921, which deprives the worker of 30 per cent of his income? How much can be saved by those earning less than \$25 for the average year, which deprives the worker of about 10 per cent of his income because of unemployment? And what shall those do who cannot find work for months and lose much more time than the average?

In short, it is because in fact, today, tomorrow, every week, every month and every year, there are and will be unemployed men and women who, in the words of Dr. Leo Wolman "do not set up and probably cannot be expected on their own initiative to set up, adequate insurance against the risks involved . . . the initiative in establishing such insurance must be taken either by the state or by the employers, or both, acting in cooperation with the workers."

Advantages of Unemployment Insurance

Whether the worker contributes, or the employer pays it all, or whether the federal government and the state, plus the employer and the worker pay into the fund, there are certain advantages to unemployment insurance:

(1) The benefits, the money disbursed to the unemployed for a maxi-

mum of 13 weeks, 26 weeks, or as long as necessary, add so much purchasing power to consumers, and thereby put producers at work and wage earners in employment. The unemployed survive on a level closer to the one they are accustomed to and at the same time do not drag others down, but keep them up on a higher level.

(2) Unemployment insurance benefits do not pauperize. They keep men from charity and its humiliation. The experience of Great Britain shows that it is *unemployment*, not unemployment insurance or the misnamed "doles" which degrade men.

(3) Unemployment insurance gives labor status in industry and in society. The certainty of receiving benefits helps to relieve the worker of the slavish sense evoked by insecurity and the terrible fear of losing a job.

(4) Unemployment insurance helps the union and those at work to maintain wages and conditions, for the unemployed men, in receipt of benefits, are less under the necessity of under-bidding.

(5) Unemployment insurance helps to preserve the family, to keep the youngsters at school, and the mother in the home.

(6) It provides necessary statistics concerning the evil of unemployment and throws a fierce white light on the necessity of its elimination.

(7) It gives the worker as a citizen a greater interest in the government and tends to stimulate working class political action.

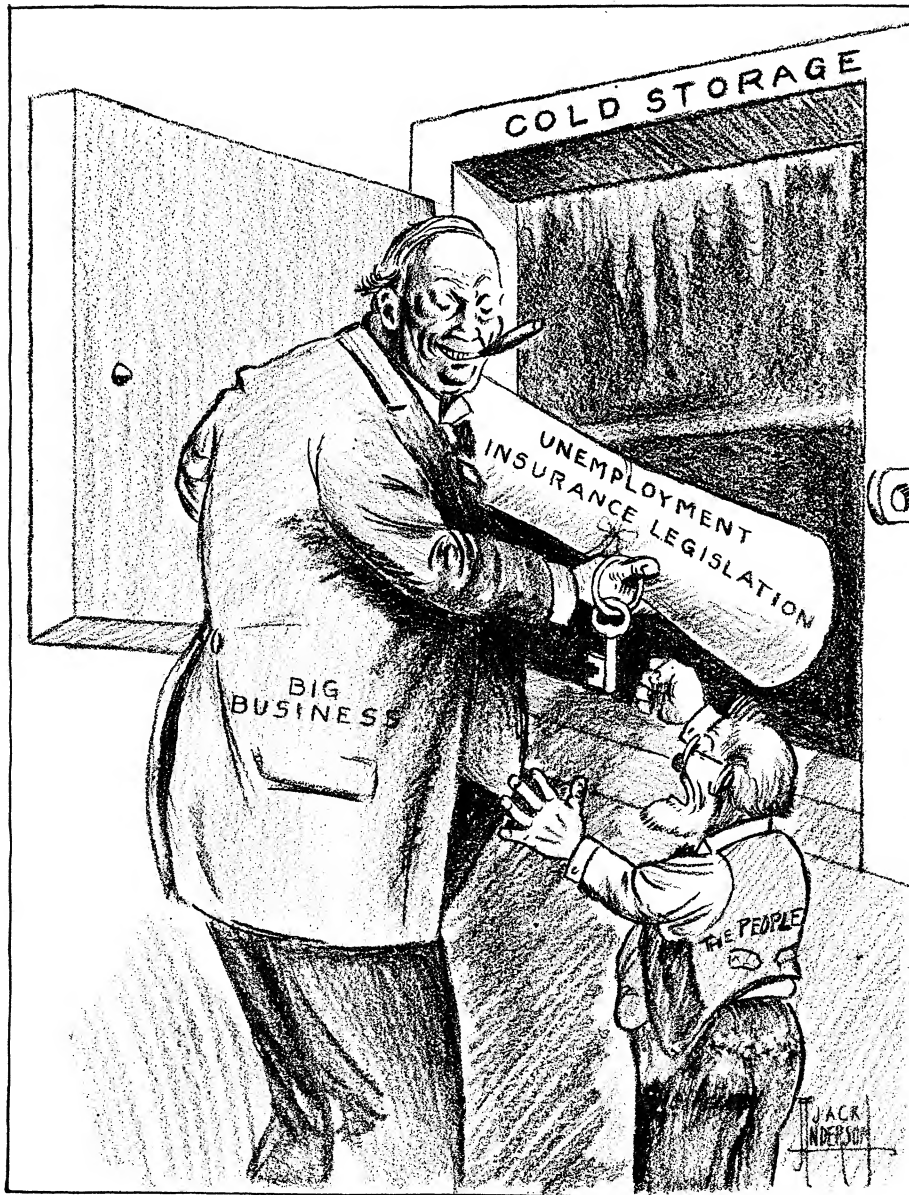
Objections Answered

(1) The difficulties involved in fixing premiums or the amount of benefits on a sound actuarial basis are not insurmountable. Once the system is introduced, a wealth of statistical material is gathered to place it on a scientific basis. (2) "Present action not advisable," says the National Association of Manufacturers. The bitter lesson of Great Britain, which insured 12,000,000 workers in 1920, instead of 1911—when only 2,500,000 were included—ought to teach us that the best time to begin is at the start of the business cycle, when times are get-

ting better, so that a reserve may be accumulated in good years. If England had today the contributions of pre-war years, up to 1920, she would have had a vast fund to meet the present depression. The employers in the N. A. M. may yet rue the day that they urged postponement. (3) The costs may be high for some spokesmen of the employers and those who oppose labor, but the workers of America ought once for all inform the powers that be that in lands vastly poorer than ours unemployment insurance is provided for the masses. Let it be vigorously and frankly said that benefits to the unemployed are just so many increases in wages. Wages are not too high for the overwhelming majority of the workers, in fact they are not high enough for any kind of a decent standard of life. (4) Unemployment insurance does not mean minute supervision of the worker's life by the government, no more than does accident compensation or old-age pension legislation. The public employment office can find above-board methods to determine unemployment; it also can or cannot find a job for an unemployed worker. (5) It is true that unemployment insurance does not of itself prevent unemployment. But nothing that is likely to be done will altogether eliminate this evil, under capitalism. (6) To say that unemployment insurance produces malingering and fraud, is to ignore the experience of all the countries which have compulsory or voluntary systems, where these bugaboos have been revealed as of insignificant consequence. Finally, (7) to belabor the point that unemployment insurance may retard the mobility of the workers ignores the fact that the American wage earner is too ambitious and resourceful to remain content with a fixed status or a relatively low income received when out of work.

To sum up, there are no serious objections. If the masses in America would but use their economic and political power, they could have just so much more income, just so much more freedom from insecurity, just so much more bargaining strength, just so much

ON ICE



624 PEW
 Drawn for Labor Age by J. F. Anderson.

Capital will oppose unemployment insurance, as it does all other social legislation, until the masses learn how to assert themselves politically.

more control of their lives and destiny involved in so fundamental a reform as unemployment insurance.

The Case for Contributory and Compulsory Insurance

An Unemployment Insurance League has been organized in Detroit, Michigan. It is trying to secure an amendment to the state constitution whereby an unemployment insurance fund may be provided for the benefit of all workers, excluding those in agriculture. The employers are to pay the entire cost. The Socialist Party of Massachusetts and Alfred Baker Lewis, one of its leaders, have also been pushing

unemployment insurance where the liability falls exclusively upon the employers. Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin has been chiefly responsible for this idea that the employers alone should contribute; that they alone should set up establishment and mutual funds, with premiums fixed in proportion to their individual risks, the less unemployment, the lower the rates. He has written, spoken, and agitated that this plan, embodied in the Wisconsin bills and their imitators elsewhere, is typically American, individualistic and capitalistic; above all, that it will force the employer to prevent unemployment

by offering him a financial incentive to do so. There has been so far next to no analysis of the claims made by Professor Commons, although writers on unemployment insurance systems abroad have indirectly touched on them.

In her book, "Unemployment Insurance in Germany," Dr. Mollie Ray Carroll makes the following comment on the Commons idea:

Germany is of the opinion that gradation of contributions according to the risks of industry produces negligible results in controlling unemployment. It is admitted that such a policy might help to regularize certain types of seasonal unemployment or stimulate employers to discover and practice schemes for stabilization within their own establishments. Gains in one plant, however, are thought to be made largely at the expense of increased fluctuations in employment in other establishments, as long as the problems of trade fluctuations remain unsolved. A sliding scale of contributions is considered futile to stem the tide of unemployment arising from technological changes in industry. The attempt to grade contributions in order to induce the employer to eliminate or reduce unemployment is thought to result from fallacious analogy between unemployment and industrial accident. The latter is an exact event the cause of which can be traced with comparative ease, and can be subjected to mechanical control. In addition, the accounting and administrative costs incidental to an attempt to grade contributions according to risks are deemed prohibitive.

The English unemployment insurance scheme originally had a provision that the employer would receive a refund of one-third his contributions for each workman he kept in steady employment, but it was eliminated in 1920. It was found that the refund was very small, that it did not in fact mean much and hence did not compel the employer to regularize employment, and that the provision was cumbersome from an administrative viewpoint. Again, authorities and experts in Great Britain who have discussed insurance by industry have opposed it.

The contention made by Professor Commons that his plan follows the principle incorporated in workmen's compensation legislation, that prevention pays in dollars and cents, needs to be checked by the analysis made of the safety movement by Louis Resnick in recent numbers of the NATION. He shows that "the death rate from accidents in the United States has gone steadily up." On the basis of the

studies of the American Association for Labor Legislation in 1923, he reveals that "not one state showed a decrease in accidents." Referring to the extensive investigations of the United States Department of Labor for 1925-26, he notes that "all American industry has been much influenced by the effort for increased production. This speeding up has not been accompanied by an equally intense effort toward accident prevention." Mr. Resnick concludes that the proponents of the safety movement have largely failed "because most people prefer to buy financial protection against the consequences of accidents, rather than try to prevent the accidents . . . it is a mistake to advocate accident prevention primarily on the strength of its economic values."

In his letter of January 26, 1929, to the United States Committee on Education and Labor, Benjamin M. Squires, chairman of the Chicago joint agreement plan in the men's clothing industry, writes:

I am not prepared to state that the scheme has accomplished much in the way of regularizing employment. . . . It is safe to say that it has been a factor in helping to regularize employment, but there are other more important factors. For example, the saving in overhead, which would result from a fuller use of plant and equipment, is a much larger item than the unemployment insurance premium.

Earl Dean Howard, for Hart, Schaffner & Marx, wrote the Senate Committee:

In the first place it is necessary to realize that in all our clothing plants we have agreements with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers that no worker may be discharged except for some delinquency. This means that there can be no reduction of the labor force to correspond to the slackness of business. Wherever there is not enough work to keep all employed, the work that is available is divided equally among all the workers in each particular group. . . .

With the introduction of cheaper lines made in fewer models and fabrics we have been able within the last three years to provide considerable work in the two slack seasons of the year when otherwise we would be waiting for orders to be taken. This change of policy had very much more to do with the reduction of unemployment than any other device, particularly the unemployment funds. . . .

The fact that the company was obligated to contribute 1½ per cent of the total payroll into an unemployment fund was a factor of very little consequence

in determining the manufacturing and selling policy of the company, which had no effect upon the policy of employing new labor, inasmuch as that factor is entirely determined by our labor agreement.

The effect of the unemployment fund, I believe, is to materially increase the satisfaction which the worker gets from his wages. It provides a reservoir from which he can draw at any time when the value of the dollar is at its maximum to him. This enables the average worker to regularize his standard of living, and does not force him to make extreme changes in his mode of life during slack times.

It will be pointed out below, in the discussion of "alternative solutions," offered by the National Association of Manufacturers and others, that cyclical unemployment is almost entirely outside the control of the individual employer, and seasonal shifts may also be. It should also be stressed that regularization may lead to unemployment, although any preventive steps taken by employers that are in accord with public policy are highly to be praised. However, the problem of the elimination of unemployment cannot be adequately met by an unemployment insurance system alone, and it is unwise to raise false hopes. There are other and more serious objections to an unemployment insurance plan which puts the entire cost on the employer.

The weekly benefits distributed to the unemployed will tend to be low and insufficient, if the employers alone

pay. If the wage earner, and the state and federal governments, as well as the employer chip in and contribute equal shares, a larger sum will obviously be accumulated for bad years and a much higher weekly benefit can be paid at all times because there is more at hand. In periods of cyclical depression, such as 1921 and 1930, it is most unlikely that the employers alone can meet the heavy drain to take care of the millions out of work. Even in prosperous years, certain industries may be sick, as textiles and coal have been. They cannot be expected to support the unemployed workers still attached. Again, under the Commons plan, with the employers paying it all, those who pay will have undue influence on state and national legislatures. With the trade union movement and the labor political parties so weak in this country, it would be far better if the interest of the worker in his own instrumentalities, his own party, his own government, could be stirred and encouraged. Finally, an employers' liability measure will give the workers and the state little say in practice and will tend to tie the wage earner to the employer, and do what welfare plans generally accomplish, limit his independence and militancy. The employers will also unduly influence state inspectors in their definition of unemployment. Let the state and the worker contribute, and they will have a greater right to speak, they will assert themselves more effectively, and more certainly for the common weal.

In a word, let it be frankly and clearly stated that the problem of un-

THIS MACHINE



Drawn for Labor Age by J. F. Anderson.
Lucky Animals

employment should and must be attacked by all groups in society, and every method used to prevent and alleviate it. Let it also be emphatically stated that the system of unemployment insurance should be a contributory one, in which the wage earner, the employer, the state and federal government, all contribute, and all have a share in determining contributions, benefits, administration, and all the details of a great social undertaking. The system must be compulsory, because otherwise no large percentage of the workers will be covered, and the essence of insurance is a wide distribution of the risk. Furthermore, the ones who need insurance most, may go without it, unless there is a state-wide, and nation-wide compulsory act.

Existing Plans

For all practical purposes unemployment insurance does not exist in the United States. According to the figures of the Industrial Relations Counselors, (1) trade union out of work benefits, (2) joint agreements between employers and unions, and (3) company plans did not cover more than 107,000 workers; 34,726 by the first method, 63,413 by the second, and 8,830 by the last, in 1928.

With the exception of four small organizations, the international unions as such give no out of work benefits. Of the total of 33,383 members covered by locals, the Typographical Union (Big 6), and the Printing Pressmen (Locals 51 and 23), both of New York, account for about half.

The first and rather important fact then is, that less than one per cent of the trade unionists, who themselves constitute but a small part of the entire working class, are directly protected by their organizations against unemployment. For the sake of the historical record it is worth while quoting some of the remarks of Samuel Gompers in April, 1916, at the hearings on Meyer London's bill for a commission to recommend a plan for the establishment of a national insurance fund:

There is scarcely an international union that has not provided some form of insurance against sickness, against invalidity, against unemployment, tool insurance in many of them, traveling benefits, going from place to place in search of employment, railroad fare and enough for meals and lodging, old-age pensions, and annuities.

Of the joint plans between unions and employers, the agreements of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the Chicago, Rochester and New York markets cover 50,000 of their members, five-sixths of all workers included under this method of unemployment insurance. The union's executive board reported to the May, 1930, convention at Toronto that 14,087 Chicagoans had received benefits in the last half of 1929, and that since May 1, 1924, nearly \$5,000,000 had been distributed in the mid-western city. In Rochester payments began on May 1, 1930; \$15,000 had previously been appropriated to relieve distress. Insurance benefits have not been paid in

New York, although \$205,000 was disbursed up to January, 1930, to 8,700, and another \$100,000 to \$150,000 voted for 7,500 members in April, this year, on account of the severe unemployment. Since May 1, 1928, the Chicago employers have been contributing three, instead of 1½ per cent of their weekly payroll, while continuing to deduct 1½ per cent for their workers, who receive 30 per cent of their full-time earnings, for a maximum period of 3¾ weeks in each of the two yearly seasons. The joint agreement plans, however, it is necessary to repeat, have hardly expanded beyond the men's clothing industry in practice.

Little needs be said of the approximately dozen live company plans, which provide for less than 9,000 employees. The arrangements of the Procter and Gamble Co., the Dennison Mfg. Co., the Leeds and Northrop Co., and the Columbia Conserve Co., to mention some of the best known, have been widely advertised, but they have not been copied to any extent.

The conclusion is obvious: existing plans of unemployment insurance cover but an insignificant fraction of the industrial workers in the country, and there is little evidence to indicate that non-governmental plans will spread in the near future.

There Is No Legislation

Between 1916 and 1929, 18 bills were introduced in a half dozen or more state legislatures, and two federal bills were offered by Congressmen London (1916) and Berger (1928). Not one passed. In the first platform of the Socialist Party, that of 1900, the ninth immediate demand read: "National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment, and want in old age." It was a Socialist, Dr. I. M. Rubinow, who wrote a comprehensive volume on social insurance, published in 1913, and on a par with some of the best of the European studies. Socialist legislators and Socialist trade unionists have energetically pushed the idea of unemployment insurance. The work of the American Association for Labor Legislation, the writings and influence of Professor John R. Commons, Dr. John B. Andrews, Dr. Leo Wolman and very recently, of the Industrial Relations Counselors, have helped to center attention on the practical aspects of the subject. The unemployment insurance system of Great Britain especially, and to a lesser degree that of Germany and of a dozen or more other countries, have stirred American interest at different times. Cyclical depressions and technologi-

CIVILIZATION



Out of Luck

cal unemployment have caused discussion. But despite all the agitation and education, there is as yet no legislation, and non-governmental plans do not begin to meet the problem.

"Alternative Solutions"

"In the pamphlet issued by the National Association of Manufacturers and National Industrial Council in March of this year, called PUBLIC UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, the statement is made: "Before we resort to legislative enactments and taxation it is the part of wisdom to encourage more extensive application over a considerable period of years of other means of preventing and alleviating unemployment: some of these we now briefly set forth." There follow 8 proposals: (1) unemployment insurance in industry; (2) a dismissal wage; (3) stabilization of industry and employment; (4) planned public works to stabilize employment; (5) stabilized dollar; (6) unemployment insurance through insurance companies; (7) reduced taxation on industry; and (8) seasonal wage adjustments.

Other groups and persons besides the manufacturers' spokesmen, more sympathetic to labor, have offered such solutions as shortening of the work-day and work-week; high wages; passage of the federal child labor amendment; compulsory education up to 16; an old-age pension at 60; vocational training; public employment offices; single tax; and abolition of the capitalist system.

So far as the specific propositions of the National Manufacturers' Association are concerned, it has already been pointed out that existing industrial plans cover only about 100,000 workers. It will indeed take a "considerable period of years" before the millions of wage and salaried employees in industry are covered by this method. On the second device, a dismissal wage, the pamphlet says: "We cannot say that there has been any general consideration of such problems." The April, 1930, issue of the MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics declared that the practice is "still extremely limited in application."

On the subject of (3) stabilization of industry and employment, much has been written and said by enlightened employers, economists, and—by special advocates, who see nothing else and who exaggerate possibilities. The United States Committee on Education and Labor admitted that "there are not sufficient industrial leaders who are interested as yet." A forthcoming volume of the Industrial Rela-

tions Counselors, after detailing the steps being taken to regularize employment in individual plants, points out, however, that "allowance must be made for other factors than managerial efficiency — for favorable conditions or wise governmental and banking policy. It must be recognized that causes enter into cyclical unemployment over which the employer has no control and that, in combatting unemployment in this form, the individual industry has made little advance. Even seasonal slackness may be due to consumer habits that can be changed but slowly as much as to inefficient management. Finally, regularization itself means that workers formerly taken on in rush seasons will not be called in. The same volume of employment will be spread over fewer employees. Lower costs and heavier demand may in time bring steady jobs to some members of the old reserve, but while regularization is in process they will have to seek work elsewhere."

In reference to (4) planned public works to stabilize employment, it will be remembered that Governor Ralph O. Brewster of Maine, speaking for President Hoover, before the conference of governors, on November 21, 1928, proposed building a reserve of billions by public and private groups, to be released in times of depression. A splendid time to have begun was on March 4, 1929. The Wagner bill which does make a start for the federal government, may be viewed as inadequate, because states and cities under Democratic Party control have done next to nothing, so far as planned works are concerned, and it must be emphasized that the overwhelming percentage of such construction is done by states, cities and counties. Apart from *planned* public works, the experience of Great Britain and Germany has shown that so-called productive public works absorb but a very small fraction of the unemployed. Certain types of work are inaccessible to cities, they call for large expenditures for materials, it is not so easy to find suitable relief works, they take care of the unskilled chiefly, workers tend to be selected on the basis of need rather than ability, and the wage problem is not easily solved.

The proposition of the stabilized dollar may be dismissed with the statement that it is of academic interest largely. It is also understandable that the National Association of Manufacturers should advocate reduced taxation on industry. The employers certainly received generous treatment from Harding - Mellon - Coolidge - Hoover & Co., but between 1920 and

1930, there were anywhere from 1,500,000 to 6,000,000 unemployed, on the basis of whatever estimates are available, in lieu of statistics which a government concerned about unemployment would have collected ere this. As to (8) seasonal wage adjustments, only where unions exist, have the workers pushed the employers sufficiently, and thus insured themselves somewhat.

Unemployment insurance through insurance companies, for which the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has at different times sought legalization from the New York State legislature, and which method the N. A. M. mentions, would constitute a vital setback to the interests of the workers, and to the future of the American Labor Movement, economically and politically. Employers' welfare plans, company unions, pensions, group insurance, and stock ownership have been well characterized by the treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, Martin F. Ryan, as an effort "to control and influence the worker so that he will be bound in his position. Being bound in this manner, he is compelled to forego the exercise of fundamental rights. This is the price such workers must pay for the paternal care which corporations exercise over them." Furthermore, it must be emphasized again and again, that unemployment insurance, like accident, health, and old age insurance, is a *social* question, and can only be settled by *social* insurance.

Meritorious Proposals

Groups and persons more sympathetic to labor than the National Association of Manufacturers have also advanced many of the proposals mentioned by the latter, and considered above. Trade union leaders have offered such remedies as a shorter work-day and work-week; the maintenance of existing high wages and the leveling up of low-wage groups; both of which are undoubtedly of the greatest merit. But despite the best efforts of the organized trade unionists to reduce hours and maintain or raise wages, and despite the increases in the productivity of the workers generally, unemployment persists in the best of years. Passage of the federal child labor amendment will help of course; so will compulsory education laws, rigidly enforced, for all up to 16. Public employment offices, under strict civil service and adequately financed, are long past due in every section of the country. The old-age pension systems should be extended to every state, to include those reaching the age of 60,

(Continued on page 29)

Teamsters Union Abandons Taxi Strikers

By COLSTON E. WARNE

FOURTEEN hundred Pittsburgh taxi drivers who were initiated into the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers of America have been deserted by the International organization. These men had been brought into Pittsburgh Local 249A of the Union through International Organizer Henry Berger of Cleveland, who was acting on behalf of Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Union. Initiation fees were paid but after five weeks no charter was forthcoming. A committee of the Local sent to Indianapolis was told that "taxi drivers aren't worth organizing." No financial support was given the strike. When, after four months struggle, the men were negotiating an agreement with the Parmelee Company, Tobin refused to send an organizer to Pittsburgh to take charge and completely repudiated the local which his agents had formed and from which the representatives of the International Union had collected \$1,512 in initiation fees and dues. Facing this repudiation, the Union Committee negotiated an agreement which was ratified by the membership on May 15 by a vote in the ratio of 5 to 3. This agreement meant the virtual loss of the strike.

* * *

The essential facts, given in sequence, are as follows:

On January 12, 1930, 1,400 Pittsburgh cab drivers employed by the Yellow, Green, and Red Cab Companies went on strike for 40 per cent of receipts and a closed shop. The Parmelee Company, owner of the Yellow and Green Companies and later of the Red Company, offered but 37 per cent and an open shop.

Between January 12 and January 17, Business Agent C. A. Osgood of the *already-established* Local 249 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers' Union of America, initiated a considerable number of the men into that organization; *the taxi-drivers group being designated as Local 249A*. Initiation fees were collected and temporary receipts given.

During the first week of the strike, a committee of Local 249A visited Organizer Henry Berger of the International Union at his Cleveland office. Mr. Berger took over the strike on behalf of the International organization.

He took up headquarters in the Hotel Pittsburgher during his four stays in Pittsburgh. On January 26, 1930, International Organizer Berger initiated 100 taxi-strikers into Local 249A. In a speech to the Union, he submitted a financial report. President Klammer of the City Teamsters (Local 248) assisted in bringing the taxi drivers into the International Union.

The Local Union had been repeatedly promised its charter by both Osgood and Berger. As early as January 14, Osgood had written President Tobin to state that the situation was "well in hand." On January 29, nevertheless, Tobin replied that Local Union 249 should not have taken in the taxi-drivers as it "was in direct violation of... charter rights." "It is not the policy of the International Union to admit to membership men who are on strike."

Up to February 1, 1930, the taxi drivers had turned over to Secretary C. A. Osgood of Local 249 the sum of \$1,512. It appears that Osgood was un-

trustworthy. When he was discovered to be an ex-coal and iron policeman and forced out, the drivers and the International Union alleged that only \$795 of the amount paid in, remained in the treasury.

Osgood was also charged with selling his correspondence with President Daniel J. Tobin of the International Union to the Parmelee Company. This correspondence was photostated and sent to each driver under captions which indicated that the International Union was not backing the strike. Organizer Henry Berger who had shared in initiating the men then followed Tobin in disclaiming the taxi drivers.

International Withdraws

An explanation of this repudiation of the men may be found in the thought of the International officers that the strike would be a brief one. When prolonged negotiations with the Company proved futile, and when Secretary Osgood was alleged to have absconded, the International officers thought it best to withdraw.

Secretary of Labor James J. Davis and Acting District President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Thomas G. Robertson, interested themselves in the strike and attempted



**AT HEIGHT OF
THE CONFLICT**

Parmelee Co. protecting its scabs from the hostility of strike sympathizers.

International News Photo



AT HEIGHT OF THE CONFLICT

Parmelee Co. protecting
its scabs from the
hostility of strike sym-
pathizers.

International News Photo



during February to secure a settlement. President Robertson sponsored the group and repeatedly promised affiliation with his state federation. The tentative settlement of the strike proposed by these men was repudiated by the strikers who charged it was of no value to them.

Moral Cohesion

Secretary Bert Snyder and George Roberts of Local 249A went to Indianapolis about March 1st to confer with the International officers. They met with President Tobin, Secretary Gillespie and others. Secretary Gillespie is alleged to have said that cab drivers were a troublesome lot to keep in an organization. President Tobin likewise is quoted as saying that they "were not worth while spending time to organize." The International officials held that it was against the by-laws of the Union to take in members while on strike; that six months must elapse before benefits could be paid; and that about two months must pass, after an agreement is signed before a charter would be issued. He held that the international union did not recommend or call the strike and could not be in on any agreement reached with the company. He said that Local 249 should not have taken the men in and believed that the charter of the Local might be revoked. (This was never done.) When pressed for a reason why answers to letters and telegrams had not been forthcoming, he held that he could not put in writing what he had to say on the matter. He is said to have closed with the statement: "We intend to stick by you morally. We can't take you in while on strike. Get the best agreement you can, then we'll consider giving you a charter."

The strike committee alleges that they had been promised a charter repeatedly in the early weeks of the strike; furthermore, that Organizer Henry Berger had, after long distance telephone conversations, promised that International Auditor Myers would, on his return from Florida, audit the books of Local Union 249 and settle the financial tangle. Neither the charter nor the auditor arrived.

The Central Labor Union of Pittsburgh and its affiliated unions, especially the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees, have from the beginning supported the strike both by resolutions and by relief contributions.

Organizer Henry Berger, after four trips to Pittsburgh, left, promising to return. He did not come to the city again. At no time did the International organization contribute to the strike,

it being alleged that only those men who had been members for six months would be eligible for benefits—therefore the taxi drivers were excluded.

Intense public sympathy for the strikers, coupled with outbursts of violence, caused Mayor Kline to withdraw cabs from the streets for a period. Up to the time of negotiations on May 5, about 115 drivers were in the employ of the company. Even the cabs which appeared on the street were not well patronized.

The strikers, acting without relief funds from their International, came into severe financial straits. A cab organization of their own, which they had built up, based on voluntary contributions by riders, was stopped by a court injunction. Both the soup kitchen and family relief finally had to be abandoned. Their attorney remained unpaid and even their telephone was disconnected for lack of funds. With the approach of Spring, however, demands became less pressing since many members had found temporary employment.

Flat Refusal

On May 5 the attorneys for the Parmelee Company and for the strikers launched negotiations toward the settlement of the dispute. After heated conflicts substantial agreement was reached to submit a proposition for vote which would allow the men to return with full seniority rights, with payment on a 37½ per cent basis without deductions, and with the right to be represented in grievance hearings. It was not specified that the representative of the men be an employee of the Company. At this juncture, Chairman A. T. Siford wired President Daniel J. Tobin of the International Union:

"Settlement close to acceptance between Parmelee Company and Local 249A Teamsters Union which provides open shop but right of drivers to be represented in grievances. Representation in wage conferences still at issue. Union spirit very strong. Will you send your organizer at once to consolidate union strength. Wire reply.

A. T. SIFORD."

The response of President Daniel Tobin on May 6 follows:

"Cannot send organizer as requested because local is not affiliated with our International Union.

DANIEL J. TOBIN."

After receiving this discouraging telegram, the strikers became even more indignant at the International officials.

In the light of the prevailing situation, the majority of the Executive Committee voted to submit a proposed agreement to a vote. Ballots were sent out by mail to be returned to a neutral umpire by noon of May 15. In this agreement, which is in the main similar to the one stated above, the company fought for and obtained a clause which provides that the representative acting on grievances *shall be an employee of the Company*.

An outstanding feature of the strike is that the International officials, knowing of the discontent, failed to send in an organizer when requested, before the strike began. Then, after the strike had started, they did not assume even nominal leadership until after the men had gone to the office of Local 249 willing to pay their dues. Then after receiving the initiation fees and approving the strike through the actions of their International Organizer, they withdrew unceremoniously. No relief whatever was given to men who were struggling to upbuild the principle of collective bargaining, even though the strike brought assistance from leading local ministers and business groups, as well as from the Pittsburgh unions. Even with the strike reaching a conclusion, the International Union refused to help the men in any way or to give them encouragement. Possibly it is not out of place to note that President Daniel Tobin's salary is \$15,000 and that his International Organizers are, I believe, paid \$10,000.

* * *

LATER ON THE PITTSBURGH STRIKE

Father James R. Cox, who had been a sponsor of the Union, was accredited with the agreement.

The Union drivers immediately took steps to organize their Local on a permanent basis. In the elections held, the old committee was to a considerable extent replaced by newcomers who had protested over the alleged "sell out" of the strike by local leaders. An appeal for a charter was again sent to Indianapolis. President Tobin after an investigation acquiesced and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters', Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers of America will soon enroll the 900 union drivers.

Another strike is in prospect since the Company is alleged to be discriminating against the Union men in the assignment of cabs. The Company is indeed looking with favor upon the organization of the 150 non-union drivers which is now being formed in competition with the regular local.

The Christian Employer

By A. J. MUSTE

I MET a Christian Employer the other day. I had almost forgotten that the breed exists. By that I do not mean that if I had been asked whether it existed still, my mind would have answered no; but a vivid, realizing sense of the existence of the Christian Employer and his significance in our industrial and political scheme I have not had for some time. Too much living in the immediate vicinity of New York is apt to do that to one. A little travel north of Yonkers and west of Hackensack helps to bring back an understanding of the forces at work in the United States of America, a nation to which New York does not really belong.

The Christian Employer is a devout member of the Church. He believes the Bible and takes it almost if not quite literally, except those portions of it in which it is suggested that the Rich Man has as much chance of getting into heaven as a camel has to pass through the eye of a needle. He is kind to his children, and he does not beat his wife. He thinks kindly of working-people, his heart is touched by their sufferings, he gives to the community chest.

He "makes" much more than his employees do of course. They work 55 hours or more a week and at an average wage of about \$16 per week—when they have work. They have a swimming pool, however, which he built, and a baseball team for which he buys bats and balls.

Admits Evils

His industry is the textile industry, and he admits that there are many evils in it, for which some kind of remedy must be found. For example, long hours, low wages, company villages, child labor, night work, over expansion, lack of intelligent production and sales policies.

What now does this gentleman of wealth, of standing in the community and the nation, of great power and influence, of intelligence, propose as the solution for the ills which afflict that industry?

Just to show that I haven't any particular grudge against pious Christians as distinguished from adherents of other religious groups, I shall begin by quoting in answer to this question



a man who does not happen to be an evangelical Protestant Christian.

Mr. Bernard Cone of Greensboro, N. C., head of some model cotton mills there, journeyed a while ago to Chapel Hill, the seat of the state university of that commonwealth. There had been union agitators in the state and even some of the learned professors at the university had dabbled a bit in industrial problems. As a result, queer notions had gotten into the heads of some of the young men, the future engineers, capitalists, preachers, lawyers of the nation. Mr. Cone took a day off from his arduous duties as a manufacturer of cotton to set the boys right. He made a long speech about the ills of the textile industry and the nobility, intelligence, long-suffering and unselfishness of the employers in that industry.

When it came to the meat in the cocoanut, the question as to what was to be done about the anarchy in production, the low wages, long hours, unemployment, what did the great and good man have to say? No doubt the boys listened with bated breath. This is what they heard:

"I am sorry, but I have no remedy to offer. If I did, it would already have been applied. Mergers will not help. Unions will not help. Surveys will not help. Legislation will not help.

"The thing will have to work itself out like an epidemic of influenza. . . .

"There will have to be greater curtailment in the future than in the past. This means further unemployment, and I should think that the thoughtful

citizen would see that these are no times to try and force the issues of higher wages and lower hours upon an already over-burdened industry."

This very helpful and brilliant utterance from one of those who furnish the nation's brains needs but to be supplemented with a couple of sentences from another employer in order to give us a fairly complete picture of the mentality of a very large number of men who are running industry in this land of liberty in 1930 A. D., that is, under the highly intelligent and efficient New Capitalism which we have evolved in this country. The gems from this other gentleman to which I refer are these:

"God makes some trees in the forest tall and some short; and in the same way he gives some men the power to make money and others not.

"Workers and outsiders generally cannot understand the problems which the manufacturer is up against. The textile industry is not ideal, neither is your church or your home. You may be sure that we, the employers, are doing everything we can to remedy the evils and it will be best for all concerned if you will trust us."

There you have the mentality, the fundamental assumptions of the great majority of the men who dominate industry in America today. When you have had that truth brought home to you anew you understand why Harding, Coolidge and Hoover get elected by the better elements in the nation, as well as a lot of other mysteries. Let us enumerate, the convictions which guide the conduct of our industrial brains.

Test of Superiority

1. There are two classes of people, the superior and the inferior. The way you tell a superior person is by measuring his wealth or the favor with which he is regarded by those who have wealth. But wealth was achieved because this person was superior in brains and character and diligence.

2. This distinction has divine sanctions. The masters of industry still proceed on old Baer's assumption that God has selected some men to govern and guide others. Where they do not use religious language, it is heredity, native ability or something of that sort

about which nobody can do anything that determines the superiority of some over others.

3. The workers generally are inferiors, to be kindly thought of in general, poor things, but utterly unable to understand the problems of industry or to do anything about them.

4. A business is the private concern of the man who runs it. It is not "affected with a public interest." Legislatures, universities, well-meaning citizens, not to speak of unions, ought to leave it alone.

Mysterious Business

5. Furthermore, business is a "mystery." Only the initiated, those who are on the inside, can really understand its problems. It is a burdensome responsibility on the capitalist, and he ought to have the sympathy of all as he seeks to discharge the solemn responsibility of the great mystery "for the good of all."

When you see clearly this medieval foundation of the thinking of a large number of the men who control modern industry and to whom under our present system the task of making industry efficient and of service to the people is entrusted, several important conclusions are brought home to you.

For one thing, the kind of talk from the leaders of a great industry which we have quoted pretty well disposes of the lovely myth that the New Capitalism is scientific and intelligent. These men may know how to handle some narrow problem in regard to machinery or raw materials in a scientific fashion; but they have not a glimmering of a scientific approach to the major problems of their industry. "The thing will have to work itself out like an epidemic of influenza." What about a direct, thorough searching into causes which any scientist dealing with the problem of a disease like influenza would immediately undertake? No, "surveys will not help." We—under whom the industry got into an unholy muddle—"we will see you through; just trust us." It is the talk of a medicine man and not of an engineer or scientist, but it is the talk of prominent business men in this great and enlightened land!

These men have not the urge to right the fundamental problems of the industry. It is true, they are at the moment in a rather tight place. Profits are small or non-existent. "Conditions are not ideal," our Christian Employer says, "they will not be five years, or ten or twenty years from now." Thus talks the man who after all has a good income. He can afford to wait,

while evils are slowly righted. What about the multitudes who starve under these conditions, or at least are underfed, under-clothed, poorly housed, deprived of many necessities and all luxuries, in a land of fabulous plenty? If industry is to be made to serve them, they will have to insist upon it. If they who are being squeezed to death do not protest and rebel, no one else will hand them the millenium on a silver platter.

Not Averse to Spies

Not only has our Christian Employer—and his Jewish, Buddhist and what not fellows—no sufficient urge to create a socialized industry, he will resist every effort on the part of society or of the workers to infringe upon his authority or to change the economic balance of power. He envisages "further unemployment," conditions more painful for the workers than now prevail but he thinks the "thoughtful citizen would see that these are no times to try and force the issues of higher wages or lower hours upon an already over-burdened industry"—never that, of course, or a change in the balance between classes, in the relative distribution of income! If an effort to organize is made, if there is so much as discussion and agitation about economic conditions going on, then recourse is had to repression. The Christian Employer has spies who report to him what his workers are talking about. Anybody who joins a union is in danger of losing his job. More than that, girls have lost their jobs during the past year for attending the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry and Conferences of the Industrial Department of the Y. W. C. A. There is serious difficulty in getting attendance at such Conferences of a Christian organization at present, because girls who go are afraid that it means forfeiting their jobs.

Your Christian Employer will admit, in places where it seems safe to do so, that conditions were bad in Elizabethton, Gastonia and Marion, but when workers were mobbed in the first two places and half a dozen of them shot in cold blood in Marion, his voice was not heard in protest. After all, presumably, he could not go back on his fellow-employers: he is class-conscious enough, though he shudders at the idea of class-consciousness in his workers.

God-Appointed Bosses

His religion will not make him any readier to accept unionism or any

other fundamental changes. On the contrary, save in an exceptional case here or there, it will make him fight harder to maintain the status quo, because he will fight with a clear conscience and the conviction that God appointed him to think and act for his inferiors, the workers. Even so in the Middle Ages heretics were burned with mighty zeal by pious Christians, and within our own generation Christians murdered each other by the million inspired by a good conscience and the sense of a divine mission. It is not of record that pious kings and nobles abdicated their absolute powers any more readily than unpious ones. The same will doubtless go for industrial autocrats.

Very little time should be spent by Labor in the attempt to persuade these brothers to grant "voluntarily" the right to organize and substantial economic improvements. They will not do it. Their soft words will lull Labor to sleep and weave a web of sophistry around its arms. When Labor can compel attention, it will get it and not before. The Pious Employer—I do not mean the individual human being but the type and the system for which it stands—is not a thing for workers to trust and to collaborate with, but rather, the enemy who must be fought and removed.

One comes back from contemplating him convinced anew that a militant campaign to organize on the economic and on the political field is the only strategy that will gain anything for the workers, South, North, West and East.

Why Unions! Go Smash!

No. 6 in
Progressive Labor Library
Series

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Who Wouldn't or Couldn't
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By JAMES ONEAL

Author of
The Workers in American History

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Labor Action

104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The March of the Machine

By JUSTUS EBERT

SHADES of William Caxton! And the Grolier Club! Who'd have thought that the making of books also involved the making of bums (vulgarism for idle workers) when the first was done by handicraft? Read the following from a daily newspaper and then speculate on the possible fate of displaced book printer and binders:

"The American Bookbindery and Stratford Press, where 60,000 books are daily completed and shipped, is a new six acre plant.

"This firm has Fordized the book industry. The thirty-eight operations in the making of a book, formerly a laborious hand process involving weeks and months, can now be done in forty-eight hours if necessary. Amazing machinery, equipped with all but human hands, prints, folds, cuts and sews books in lightning time. One machine alone assembles forty-two books a minute.

"Bookbinding, the family trade as formerly handed down from father to son, looks quaint alongside the highly mechanized and efficient industry of today as seen at the American Book Bindery."

(There are other "things about the machine process that look quaint." One is "the large understanding way" capitalist paragraphers write about tragedies to the workers!)

* * *

It is too bad inventors don't check up on one another. Michael Pupin, famous electrical scientist and inventor in his book, "The Romance of the Machine," contends that the machine makes for international unity. Then along comes the developer of television, W. E. Alexander. He is at great pains to prove television's value in war. He asks, "What will this mean in the future when a staff officer can see the enemy through the television eyes of his scouting plane, or when they can send a bombing plane without a man on board which can see the target and be steered by radio up to the moment it hits?"

Which is why inventors should check up on one another. When they do they will see that back of the machine lies

the thought of its deadly effectiveness either in world competition or war. Neither of which is conducive of real internationalism. However, considering Prof. Pupin's title, "The Romance of the Machine," what could one expect but that he would consistently grow romantic about his subject?

* * *

The General Motor Co.'s large foundry for manufacturing auto parts at Saginaw, Mich., a year ago employed 8,500 men. Now this plant requires only 2,300 men, most of them at very low wages. Improvements and labor-saving devices account for the difference. They have made the foundry the most up-to-date, i. e., efficient, displacer of foundry labor in the world. This confers distinction on Saginaw, though it deprives Saginaw of the wage-laborers whereby it lives. Thus, machinery, under capitalism, hurts the community as well as the worker.

* * *

"Ah, but the inventors profit from capitalism's demand for machinery," say some. But do they? THE FEDERATED PRESS tells the following of a Detroit worker:

This worker had worked in one local concern for years. During this time he had spent most of his leisure in planning a machine which would "save labor." He finally completed his plans and asked for company aid in the building and financing of the machine. The officials gave him the "merry ha-ha." The worker then used all his savings to buy material and worked out the machine in his own time. When he had it built he took it down to the factory. It was a success. Where it had taken four men each on three shifts to get out 7,000 pieces this new machine made it possible for one man to produce 20,000 pieces in four hours. A grateful management smilingly promised the proud worker a raise to \$9.50 a day—and fired him. Believe it or not—this worker-inventor is today dependent for the existence of his family and himself on charity.

* * *

Displacement of coal miners by ma-

chinery makes a new record in the stripping operations in the Northern Pacific R. R. properties at Coalstrip, Montana. The SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN describes the new Bucyrus-Erie coal loading shovel that lifts out more than eight tons at a time, dumps it into the gondola cars skirting the pit and returns for a new load all in 45 seconds. Operated by only two or three men it digs and loads 5,000 tons in a 10-hour shift. With the aid of a smaller loader a total of 20,000 tons are loaded in 24 hours, enough to fill 3000 of the 70-ton cars recently purchased by the company.

A dirt tripping machine bites out 15 tons of earth at a chunk, depositing it a city block away at a height of 10 stories if necessary all in one operation. The pick and shovel man is out of date here.

Each worker in the pit averages 50 tons of coal a day, or about 10 times the normal production of underground coal mines. Not more than 75 men will be needed to produce the 11,000,000 tons of fuel that the N. P. road will take from this mine in the next eight years.

* * *

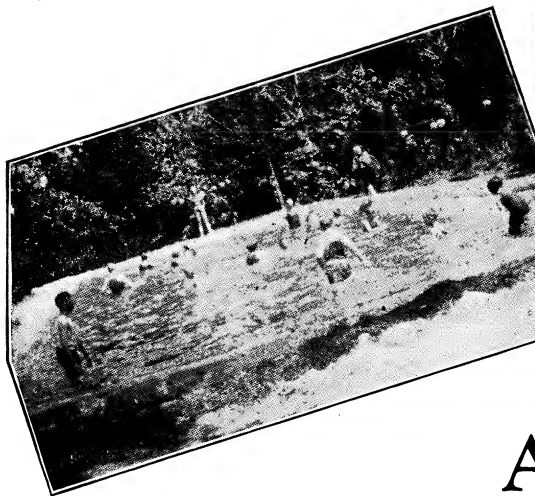
The automatic machine, scientific processes and combinations are sweeping all classes of workers into the unemployed army, declares the MONTANA LABOR NEWS.

"Due to modern machinery 100 miners get out as much ore in Butte mines as 400 did in the old days of Marcus Daly and former United States Senator Clark. Yet these men, operating on 10 and 11-cent copper, made hundreds of millions of dollars," says this labor paper.

"One man at a local manganese plant in South Butte throws an electric switch and the nodulating of that ore is completed without the aid of man power.

"Five years ago 70,000 field laborers left St. Paul and Chicago for harvest work in the Dakotas, Montana and other wheat States. Last year but 5,000 left and 2,000 of these were unable to secure employment. The reason is that the new combine takes the place of 50 harvest workers.

But the man who labors in overalls is not the only one affected by displacements. Electric addressing machines and other appliances have replaced thousands of white collar workers. Mergers have ousted entire staffs and smaller units have been closed down. Chain stores have placed the small business men and employes on the street, while far-sighted business men agree that we are producing too much and that jobs become scarcer and scarcer."



A CAMP For Workers' Children

By SELMAR SCHOCKEN

THE benefits derived from camp life by children is generally recognized. If anyone needs outdoor life in the few vacation weeks of the summer, it is the children of the working class families, living in crowded quarters with very little outdoor life. Only recently the health Commissioner of New York City spoke of the importance of picking a camp, and to the progressive thinking worker it is especially important that he find a camp for his child where the whole spirit is in line with progressive ideas.

In this article we will try to acquaint those New York workers who read *LABOR AGE* and who are attached to the whole movement of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action with a camp that is maintained by progressive workers for the children of progressive families.

The MODERN SUNDAY SCHOOL CAMP is maintained by the Modern Sunday Schools established in Manhattan, Queens and the Bronx. After teaching the industrial history of man, the history of government, evolution of mankind in general with special emphasis on the condition of the working class, to balance the winter program of the public schools, the Sunday Schools felt the need of taking care of their children in the summer. They bought a tract of land in the Ramapo Mountain region in Morris County, N. J., at Lincoln Park, eight miles from Paterson.

For the last five years this camp has served the children of the working class who were fortunate enough to get there. Constant improvements have made it one of the best and most

attractive camps in the vicinity of New York. This camp is not a commercial undertaking and is run on a non-profit basis. The counselors are very carefully selected. Every one employed in the camp, especially those working in the kitchen and dining room must be examined and passed by the Union Health Center, in order to assure the children's health. Every child must also pass a medical examination at the Union Health Center before it is accepted.

The camp is ideally located on a hill top with plenty of sunshine, surrounded by cool cedar woods. Although tents are romantic, dormitories are more practical, for even in camp provision must be made for wet days. The four roomy dormitories can comfortably house seventy children and their counsellors. The large social hall has a stage for dramatics, but the whole camp site in itself is a stage in a natural setting, beyond comparison with anything the city has to offer. The swimming pool, carved in the solid rock on the side of the hill, is a source of education, exercise, fun and health.

Every child should go to camp, if only for two weeks in the year. The birds and stars, trees and flowers should become his familiar friends. They should be a glowing reality in a child's life. This knowledge of nature can only be gained by intimate contact. What a relief from the noisy city to stand under the open sky to rest the eye on distant mountain chains, to breathe the clear air, or sit in the quiet shade of the woods and rest one's nerves.

The summer camp must help the child regain the lost energy of the winter months because his mental outlook and attitude toward life is so dependent on his well being and his experiences. The child must learn how to live and work and play with other children, to get a better perspective of life.

In the course of his normal development a child must become independent of his parents. To live for a period in a group of his contemporaries aids him to become adjusted to his own world. The path to our world must necessarily diverge from the maze of the boy scout camp which leads to militarism and the religious and charitable camps which lead to the fostering of the inferiority complex and superstition.

The desire to give the child of the worker a class conscious outlook on life, to enable him to think independently and have the courage of his convictions, first gave birth to the Modern Sunday School and then urged the creation of this camp. It is not enough for parents to teach children their ideals. They need companions who have the same ideals. This gives them opportunity for self-expression, strengthens their convictions and makes solidarity a reality.

Workers interested in progressive labor action will find this is an excellent camp for their children. The weekly charge is \$9—members of the Modern Sunday Schools pay \$7—for all children from six to sixteen years of age. Lincoln Park is less than an hour's ride from Hoboken, on the Lackawanna and can be reached by bus and good auto roads from all points in Northern New Jersey.

Vacationing With Pioneer Youth

By W. WALTER LUDWIG

SUMMER camping for children is no longer a luxury which only the well-to-do may enjoy or a philanthropy extended by charitable organizations to "get the kiddies off the hot streets."

Through the camps of Pioneer Youth of America which begins this summer its seventh camping season, creative and educational camping for children has been put within the reach of self-respecting trade unionists. Their national experimental camp in New York just opened (June 28) will continue for ten weeks until September 5th and will be supplemented by camps conducted by the Baltimore and Philadelphia branches of Pioneer Youth.

High up on a picturesque forested mountainside in the foothills of the Catskills, six miles south of Kingston, the national camp site of 140 acres commands a view of the countryside for miles around. The camp has excellent facilities including modern plumbing, a large social hall, dining hall, artesian well, lake, and swimming pool. Within a quarter mile of the main building, the children 9 to 16 years of age are grouped in the five tent colonies according to ages, the boys and girls living in separate quarters. Although all campers live in tents, the main hall and several smaller buildings provide for rainy day and indoor activities.

Pioneer Youth has won a unique place in the camping world for the creative educational quality of its camping. With no set program, awards or prizes, the activities are based on the individual child's interests and capacities as developed through integrated group activities. New activities develop as the children's interests grow.

In the shop are tools and materials for many kinds of work. Airplanes and boats are made as are also primitive musical instruments such as tom toms, and cigar box violins. Arts and crafts activities are closely related to camp needs. A tree house in an old maple, an Indian tepee, a lean-to for overnight hikes, and a large rough hewn open log cabin built by the intermediate boys were among the construction jobs done last summer.

The lake provides boating and canoeing and a cement rimmed swimming pool with constantly changing water proves so enticing that almost everyone swims, many twice a day. Games such as baseball and basketball are played on the athletic field as are also handball, volley ball, and tennis. Situations related to camp life provide material for dramatics. Ancient landmarks aroused interest and the result was a play about old Rifton. A send-off to two counselors who left for the World Youth Peace Conference required pageantry and folk dances. The camp orchestra furnished music for plays, pageants, and comic opera. Overnight trips and hikes, a nature trail through the woods and a large telescope for astronomy are among the means by which the children become acquainted with woodcraft and nature lore.

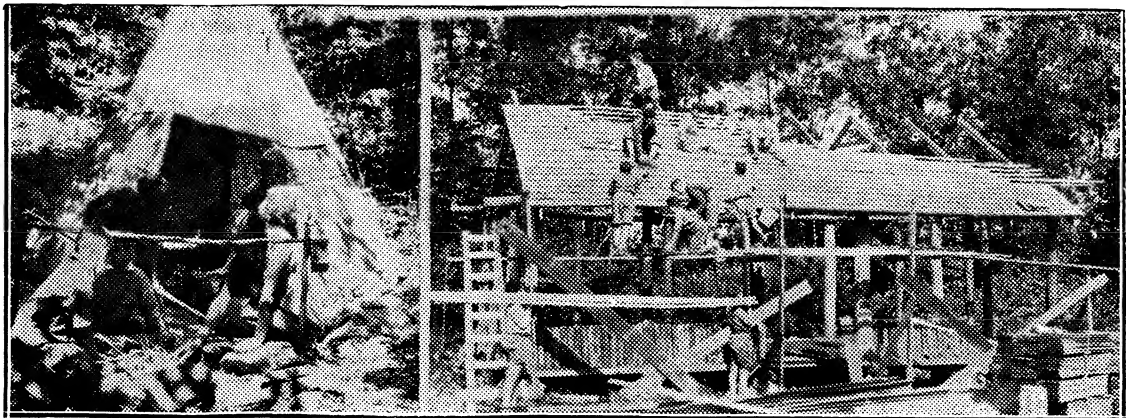
Numerous community projects such as the camp store, bank, postoffice, and library are conducted by the children and help to develop a sense of social responsibility and a democratic camp procedure. The older boys and girls are planning to hold again this year a conference over the Labor Day weekend on some social or industrial problem.

Alexis C. Ferm, formerly director

of the Modern School at Stelton, N. J. and on the Board of the Manumit School, will direct the camp this season. He is a pioneer in the progressive educational movement and well qualified to continue the camp's development begun and for six years conducted by Joshua Lieberman, former director of the camp. Henry Paley, formerly of the City and Country School and now science teacher at the Brooklyn Ethical Culture School will return to direct the junior division. With him will return many of last year's staff including David Sinclair, son of Upton Sinclair, who will be division leader of the senior boys and in charge of camp construction. An educational staff of 16 socially mature young men and women will work with the children on the basis of the group needs, their relation to the children being not primarily that of supervisors but resourceful, competent friends whose help and counsel are worth seeking.

The health of the campers is carefully safeguarded. All are medically examined and a registered nurse, a camp mother, and doctor within call, are on the staff to provide necessary physical attention. The food served is wholesome and well chosen with an abundance of fresh vegetables from neighboring markets.

Parents who would like their children to enjoy a creative vacation this summer at a moderate expenditure may obtain an illustrated camp folder, by addressing Pioneer Youth of America, 45 Astor Place, New York City. Applications are still being received, either for all or part of the season.



Independence For India

By N. B. PARULEKAR

POONA CITY, India.—December 31, 1929, will pass in history as a fatal day to the British Empire and a revolutionary day for India. Five thousand delegates of the Indian National Congress sat in session continuously over ten hours late up to midnight and passed in shouts of Inkhalab Zindabad (Long Live Revolution) and Mahatma Gandhi kijay (victory to Mahatma Gandhi), a resolution declaring independence as the immediate goal of India. "The embrace of the British Empire," said the young Jawarlal Nehru in his presidential address, "is a dangerous thing. It is not and can not be the life giving embrace of affection freely given and returned. And if it is not that, it will be what it has been in the past, the embrace of death."

Mahatma Gandhi moved the resolution of independence. He spoke in reply after nearly fourteen amendments had been proposed and heard, most of which wanted to go further than the Mahatma. Mr. Subhas Bose, the young leader of Bengal, and many others insisted that the Congress engage immediately in establishing a parallel government in the country, boycott in addition to legislatures, government schools, colleges, local bodies like Port Trusts and municipalities, and resort to "general strikes wherever and whenever possible." There is also an element in the country which does not believe in the non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi and would like to organize force to combat force.

By adopting the resolution of independence the Congress rejected communal representation based on religious denominations of Hindu, Moslem, Sikh, or Christian, refused to participate in a Round Table Conference carrying no guarantee with it, interpreted "Swaraj" as "complete independence," resolved upon "a complete boycott of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and committees constituted by government," and authorized "the All India Congress Committee whenever it deemed fit to launch upon a program of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary."

The Congress declaration of independence was a foregone conclusion.

On the eve of the Congress session the Viceroy called the leaders to a conference. They asked for a definite promise that the Round Table Conference would be called to discuss the plans for an immediate grant of Dominion Status. The official spokesman expressed his inability to give any such assurance and the leaders returned to the Congress. In fact the psychological moment when the people might have been persuaded to stay as a dominion within the Empire had passed and what had been for years in the country a growing feeling or sentiment has with the session of the Congress become an irrevocable decision of the nation so that in future there is little chance of peace or cessation of public agitation in the country until independence has been an accomplished fact. It may be difficult to say why nations make up their mind one way or the other. But once it is made they often count no sacrifice too dear to stand by their will. It is, therefore, not much of a prophecy to say that India in future like the United States in the past will have to be counted as among the lost dominions of the British Empire.

British Blunders

The declaration of Mr. Wedgewood Benn, the British labor Secretary of State for India, that dominion status is to be the goal of India has been, to put it mildly, merely a wordy attempt to placate the feeling of a people without understanding its magnitude. What India wanted and was looking for a whole year,—the Calcutta Congress in December 1928 had passed a resolution that if before the midnight of December 31, 1929, Great Britain did not agree to the grant of dominion status the Congress would be forced to advise the country to line up for direct action to gain independence—was something more tangible than the pronouncement of a "goal"! And as for the proposed Round Table Conference the country at large does not consider it worth the travelling expenses to London unless it is assured that that Conference is to plan, with the support of the British cabinet, a scheme of the dominion form of government for India. One of the greatest of the blunders in British imperial policy towards India has been the forced

sending of the Simon Commission to India in which Mr. Macdonald and the British labor leaders cooperated with the conservative government of Mr. Baldwin. The report of the Simon Commission now stands in the way of a free and equitable exchange of ideas between the British Parliament and the people of India. The only way to bury that ghost is to assure dominion status as the basis of the Round Table Conference. But this Whitehall is unable to do so long as the political parties in England keep floundering in their policies towards India. They have yet to realize that it is as futile to insist upon the right of Parliament in dealing with India of today as on the right of the Crown in the days of the American Revolution.

Then again, Mr. Benn's promise of a Round Table Conference failed to produce the intended "atmosphere" in the country because the repressive policy continued unabated, and suspicion between the government and the people is thick as ever. As I traveled hundreds of miles in the trains loaded with delegates and visitors coming to Lahore from all over India, I had a chance to see their mind even before I had a chance to see them in open session of the Congress. Many of them pointed out to me as a sign of the existing atmosphere of "friendliness and trust" the presence in their cars of the secret service men from the C. I. D., or the Criminal Investigation Department of India, shadowing them from their local stations. They pointed out to me that in spite of this overture for "atmosphere" a number of Scotland Yard men are sent from England and are now combing the country in search of communism and conspiracies. They showed to me as the symbol of "equality" and of "dominion status in action" the treatment of political prisoners. The government let a young man, one Jatin Das, die after 63 days of voluntary fast in protest against a jail system which treats a white (meaning generally Britisher) robber, cutthroat or a perjurer better than an Indian patriot jailed for political reasons. British jails in India are looked upon as barbarities particularly in their treatment of native political prisoners. They told me while the European gets butter the Indian gets oil, one eats wheat while the other is fed on barley

and the clothing given to the Indian prisoner is of coarse fibre fit only to cover the horses of Europeans in the country. The government refused to listen for fear of losing their prestige until this young man died of starvation. A number of others went on similar hunger strikes and a crowd of two to three hundred thousand people received and cremated the body of Jatin taken from Lahore to Calcutta in silent protest. Then there are continuously introduced legislative measures to crush labor, to persecute the young workers, and to punish what are generally called, "the communists". How under these circumstances, they asked me, can the Viceroy hope that the declarations from London will "break through the webs of mistrust that have lately closed the relations between India and Great Britain?"

Against Capitalism

The desire to get away from the British Empire is not merely a bellicose attitude of the Nationalist India. In fact one finds little "one hundred per cent" nationalism in India, contrary to one's expectations. The reason is that the struggle for political freedom from the British Empire in India has at the same time been a struggle against British capitalism, both having been synonymous. That is why communism in India is feared more by the British than by the people themselves and the British censorship in the country is so wild and panicky on socialistic literature that even such a book as Bernard Shaw's "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism" is on the proscribed list. The nationalist leader of today is against capitalism both British and indigenous and he wants to clean up the many rajas together with the British rule. He discards the British Empire just as he discards caste, both being born of inequality and so against the growth of the modern man. The President of the Indian National Congress is a socialist and social reformer. He said, "However golden the harvest and heavy the dividends, the mud huts and hovels and the nakedness of our people testify to the glory of the British Empire and of our present social system."

There was a time when to the East of Suez the word British was feared and sometimes even respected; but now it is hated as few other things are hated by mankind on earth today. The Oriental races from Palestine to Peking are resenting today as never before the economic exploitation by the British Empire in Asia and in Africa.

To belong to the Empire has been synonymous in the East with belonging to a capitalistic order that lives on other races. There is, therefore, a widespread feeling in the East that the British Empire must go, and that feeling is particularly strong in India. "It can not be a true commonwealth," said Jawarlal Nehru in his address, "so long as imperialism is its basis and the exploitation of other races its chief means of sustenance." He pleaded for a larger league of nations and assured that India "will agree to give up a part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member."

In fact a new generation of men has arisen who are now dominating the Congress; many among them have been either educated abroad or have deliberately gone out of India to study the post-war situation of Europe and America. It is the middle class intellectual group who know full well that freedom and the peasant are to be won together and that caste and the capitalistic system must both be done away with. Native capitalism in the modern sense is yet too small and feels unable to express itself on the Congress platform. A few of them met simultaneously with the Congress in another part of India in Madras with the so-called Liberal Federation whose

total delegates from all over India were 150 in contrast to the five thousand delegates of the Congress. Then frightened by the Congress leaders' stand in social matters the orthodox elements have organized themselves into Sanatani Sabhas or the fundamentalist groups having no papers and no platform, as most of the papers worth mentioning in the country are forward-looking. From the Moslem side the two Ali brothers have disappeared from the Congress and shrunk back to the position of being representatives of communal views rather than being national leaders. Again as one looks round the Congress one finds an entirely different type of meetings and conferences cropping up, such as All India Social Conference, the Nava Javan Conference or the Youth Conference, the Kisan Conference or the Peasant Conference, the Jat Pat Torak Conference or the Caste Breaking Conference and so on, all indicating a nation wide drive for social and economic equality.

Gandhi's Contribution

In such a shake up of the Congress camp involving a new spirit to clean up simultaneously caste and capitalism, orthodoxy and English Empire, it is but natural that leaders of older thinking are generally falling back. However, there is one big exception, and that is Mahatma Gandhi. The Indian National Congress today is a melee of modernism, socialism, agrarianism, anti-imperialism, nationalism and so on, yet the message of Mahatma Gandhi goes further and to the more fundamental human relations than these isms.

After nearly eight years of absence Mahatma Gandhi comes once again to lead the political tide of India. He is the one leader today who has a hold on millions such as no man living or dead had in his lifetime on earth. Now what that force means in the political life in India during the new year is to be seen. Yet one thing is certain. The Indian National Congress represents the politically minded India organizing the country for freedom for the last forty or so years and Gandhi represents the spiritual heritage of the people from one end of the country to the other. The combination of these two forces on such a wide range as India indicates that in the year 1930 the country is launching on a revolutionary period and that the new year is likely to witness some of the most critical developments for India and for the British Empire.

OPPOSES SELF RULE



Drawing by Raphael Nelson
New Leader (London, Eng.)

SIR JOHN SIMON

Chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission, whose report on steps toward Indian independence was received with contempt by the Indian people.

Following the Fight

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

LAUNCHING THE YOUTH CRUSADE

PROSPERITY continues to run in reverse. Department of Labor Statistics figures reveal falling employment, long after the Hooverian "six weeks" of waiting have expired. The robber tariff promises recriminations rather than business revival. Bankers are alarmed. Speaker Longworth himself, automatic champion of high tariffs, is most conservative in his pledge of what the current measure will produce. The trouble is still deeper seated, he declares.

There he is right, for once. The trouble is deeply rooted in the present system, and only war or a revolutionary turn-over is likely to affect a permanent change. Cautious economists freely state, at least in private, that we are probably in for a large standing army of unemployed, such as has afflicted Europe.

Progressives have a long time job on their hands, in view of this turn of events. They have come at the right time to do something toward laying the foundation for a Labor Movement that can help mold the future.

They must be idealists, with their heads above the clouds, with their feet on the ground, knowing that they can stub their toes and bark their shins against realities.

To meet the issues, we have to think in terms of the coming agitators and leaders of Labor. During the past decades there has been a tremendous drain on leadership of the American workers. Those who have shown ability, either on a national scale or in a smaller way, have often become discouraged under the smashing blows of the present system. They have fallen by the wayside. Others have followed the dollars-and-cents philosophy and gone over to the service of the employers. There has been a hegira of American labor leadership into the employers' camp greater than in any other country.

Oscar Ameringer, philosopher of our movement, attributes this to the lack of such an idealist philosophy as that which the Socialist Movement in its wider sense brought to European labor. Through the Socialist papers and other literature, a larger view of art and science and the workers' world was secured. The pure wages-and-hour philosophy brings many heartaches and many desertions from the ranks of leadership.

Young folks, with an idealistic viewpoint and with a zeal tempered by discretion, are called for by the present sharply drawn conditions. They are needed in the factories, as centers of agitation. They are needed at the mill-gates eventually, bringing the message of revolt in a disciplined way to the unorganized workers.

Students with the proper sense of reality and young workers alike can lend their hands to this great adventure. This has been stated and re-stated in our pages. Now the time, however, has come when it can be more concretely put into application. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action is calling for volunteers among our youth. It wants them to go into industry, for study and education and agitation. It applauds those who have taken this step already, and asks others who feel that they can do the job to go in for similar undertakings. A number of industries see the coming of these young crusaders, and in the "Youth

Crusade" great possibilities of building for the future can be seen. We will welcome all who come forward to take up this glorious piece of pioneering work.

TOWARD UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

UNEMPLOYMENT looms larger on the worker's horizons and in public discussions. Despite official whistling to keep up an appearance of optimism, the newspapers and magazines begin to be crowded with debate upon the subject.

The campaign of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has come at the right time. Unemployment insurance is the chief answer to the crisis, here and now—a crisis that bids fair to be a sort of permanent eyesore with us for quite a period of time.

In June's LIFE AND LABOR BULLETIN, Prof. William Leiserson contributes a number of interesting bits of information on the question of unemployment "doles." There were fully 4,000,000 out of work in this country last winter, he estimates, and there has not been any startling pick-up from that situation. "When we have 4,000,000 out of work," he reminds us, "that is twice as many as in Germany and more than double the number out of work in Great Britain."

As to "doles," he emphasizes that "most European countries have less of a dole system than we have. Every one of our cities has enormously increased its expenditures for family relief since last October. . . . In city after city the family relief funds have been exhausted and the community funds have had to engage in special campaigns to raise additional money for relief of the unemployed. These payments by charity organizations and the soup kitchens, breadlines and free lodging houses which were everywhere in evidence during the winter are nothing but doles to the unemployed and they represent a dole system far worse than anything they have in Europe."

Unemployment insurance is not a dole, and the shouting in that direction has been largely on the "give-a-dog a bad name" theory. Contributory unemployment insurance certainly has no dole feature connected with it, even from a most conservative standpoint. Although several concerns have created reserve funds wherewith to relieve unemployment, and although the General Electric now comes into the game to announce unemployment relief measures, the vast field of industry remains uncovered. The vast majority of workers walk out of their jobs into an economic Nowhere. Some unions, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have contributed an unemployment insurance plan in the industry, to aid the workers. The Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers are endeavoring to follow in the same direction. But all of these "voluntary" enterprises, helpful as they are, fail to meet the big sweep of unemployment that grips the nation.

Signs of awakening on the issue are apparent in many encouraging quarters. The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, at its Altoona convention, recorded itself in favor

of unemployment insurance by legislation. John Phillips, the incoming President, is deeply interested in the question, and intends to fight for proper legislation for relief of the unemployed. The Consumers League of Ohio is making a study of such a bill as will meet the situation in that state. In Michigan a special state organization has been formed, for unemployment insurance. Wisconsin will see the introduction of a new bill in the next legislature, supplementary to previous efforts made there toward this end.

When the committee of economists, actuarial experts and publicists, created by the C. P. L. A., makes its report next month on the "model unemployment bill," the field will be ripe for active campaigning. All the vigor and intelligence possible will have to be thrown into the fight, as the age-old enemies of progress—Grundy's Gang and their like—will be battling against any step forward. Despite them, the unemployment insurance issue must be brought to a show-down, and success will eventually crown the effort to put it over. The unemployed worker cannot be allowed to remain the plaything of Dives.

TO THE MILL GATES!

PRESENT paralysis of industry gives us all time to think. What will be the program of Labor in the days immediately ahead, so far as tactics are concerned? In these hot summer months, we must work out a red-hot answer. For half-way measures seem doomed to fall.

With such an enormous hinterland of unorganized masses, one thing is fairly obvious. That is, that there must be a great, surging drive of enthusiasm and energy to reach the unorganized. The time is here to go to the mill gates with a message of Progressive labor activity. The picturesque features of such a program will send home the educational message better than anything else can do. The situation has run away from us so far that heroic dramatics are essential to any sort of progress.

The Progressive campaign on unemployment insurance and the shorter work-week must go to the mill gates as well as into union halls and to the public in general.

There is entirely too much talk about the Labor Movement being dead and only awaiting burial. This does not come from critics of the official policy within the ranks so much as it is a general attitude of every one toward the Movement. There must be a counter drive that will offset this feeling, damaging as it is to the welfare of the Movement.

If Progressives, armed with the all-powerful amplifier, go to the mill gates, they will perform a service that has long been wanted, and for which events have long been waiting.

INTERLOCKING CONCERNS AND INTERLOCKING WORKERS

FRANKNESS will lead us all to acknowledge one huge obstacle in the path of effective organization, particularly among the basic industries. This is the increasing interlocking of industrial interests, hosiery mill owned by tobacco trust, hardware manufactory by chain store combines, etc., etc., in an endless array.

The banner of industrial unionism, flaming against the workers' sky, is answer No. 1, undoubtedly, to this industrial unionism of the capitalists. The pitiable thing in American working class development is the almost total lack of living industrial unionism, on any scale worth while. And yet, it is one phalanx of the workers in this or that particular mill which alone can wage any battle worthy of

the name against the great and growing fortress of Non-unionism.

But industrial unionism is one answer, only, of several that must be made. Is it not essential today that the fires of revolt on a wide scale be fanned, in order that the upshot of it all may be a large movement of the workers? There is much to be said for a series of strikes all over the country, after the present industrial mess is unscrambled a little. That it will ever be unscrambled altogether is something scarcely to be dreamed of. There is decisively a great deal to be said and done about extensive educational and agitational activities among the unorganized workers. Answer No. 2 seems to indicate the necessity for a far-flung battle-front, at least in labor sentiment, in a number of basic industries—in order that the fight in some of them may succeed.

The hour calls for fiery and free spirits, who are willing to laugh at depression and complacency. With them applying the industrial union lesson, and paving the way for something to be done, through an educational program, something is bound to pop in the times ahead of us. We must learn to interlock workers—on the industrially interlocked field of action.

OUR "YELLOW DOG" CONGRESS

HEIGH-HO! What is unemployment or its relief, even though the subject fills the columns of the newspapers? Hoover's Lamont and A. F. of L.'s Green may dispute the figures to their heart's content. The 300,000 estimated out-of-works in Greater New York should whistle and keep up courage. It matters little, for these same unemployed at election time will look again into the Hooverian magic crystal and vote loudly for "Prosperity."

Such has been the attitude of Grundy's Congress, now triumphantly drawing to a close. The Wagner bills, modest enough but containing the foundations for something more nevertheless, received not even consideration. They went into the waste basket of a special committee assignment.

Heigh-ho again! Yellow doggerly and injunctions fasten themselves on the working population as nothing has done to any group since chattel slavery. But what matters that? Yellow dog victims and injunction-jailed men and women cast their ballots later, by circuitous ways for those who maltreated and jailed them. We are the slick boys, says the Congress, and we know the people. The injunction relief bill goes the way of the unemployment relief bills—to the 1930 scrap heap.

Even after all the hullabaloo about Judge Parker, that is so. The yellow dog contract has much to be said for it, exclaims the Senate Judiciary Committee by majority vote. We will let it stand, as the reactionaries before 1861 let Slavery stand.

Of course, that does not end the issue. Agitation will go forward. Agitation is going forward. The American Federation of Labor has issued excerpts from the speeches of various Senators in the Parker debate in a pamphlet entitled "Yellow Dog Contract—Menace to American Liberties." Almost simultaneously, the Conference Committee on Injunctions, connected with the Philadelphia central body, has published Donald Richberg's speech on "The Injunction Issue," delivered in that city on March 15 last.

It is only when the spirit that overthrew Slavery will be aroused among the workers—the spirit that will view the courts as the enemies of decency—the spirit that will decide to take power for the masses—that we can hope for a change in the present set of facts. The present-day Congress has proved again that it is a "yellow dog" Congress, the cowardly instrument of the Slave Interests of 1930.

Flashes from the Labor World

While the month's news budget is not unusually cheery, there's no denying that restlessness is spreading among American workers. Federated Press news scouts in the leading industrial centers send in reports that look, on our television screen, like heat lightning. Will there be a storm?

For example, is it just local damn foolishness or a well sponsored scheme that every Communist who butts in on Atlanta's model mills and factories is to have the juice turned on his body? Labor people in the north may pooh-pooh at the capital charges laid against Communists; but after two months in the death cell, you may begin to feel that perhaps the situation is serious. The crime in Atlanta was that the reds want the blacks and the whites to get together industrially. And, of course, that strikes at White Supremacy.

* * *

Or hop across the country in one of those dawn to dusk flights, and alight in the Imperial Valley, scene of a recent melon strife. Six organizers have been sent to Folsom and San Quentin for membership in the Communist Party, alleged advocacy of sabotage and inciting to a strike. Two Communist organizers were sent to Folsom, with its evil reputation of squeezing the life out of labor men. Is it just local damn foolishness, or are the employing interests in California also scared stiff at the specter of industrial revolt? At any rate the terms of 3 to 42 years, already imposed, are serious enough.

* * *

Or take a look into Danville, sweltering in the heat of a Virginia midsummer. The industrial sky blackens, a storm seems imminent. The United Textile Workers Board, meeting in New York, decides to begin at once to plan for an extensive drive for relief funds "for emergency in the south." In event of strike 4,000 union members and their families, probably numbering up to 12,000 or more, will be destitute within a few weeks. The Riverside & Dan River mills will have the backing, financial and otherwise, of the organized cotton mill owners. Who will back the striking textile workers? The U. T. W. says it has no money. Liberals can hardly muster

up the \$10,000 a week needed. Purse proud international unions prefer bank balances to strike relief. It will be a long, tough, bitter struggle that may be crucial in the A. F. of L.'s southern campaign. As usual, the progressive elements in the organized Labor Movement will have to shoulder the burden, financially and otherwise.

* * *

How old is too old for a job? Well, for a woman it seems to be 30. That's the danger line. When the first bloom of girlhood leaves, industry has no more use for her. It needs peppy young

ON THE LOOKOUT



Omaha World-Herald.

Prof. Hoover's magical optimism is of no help to the unemployed.

things, full of fun, frolic and a capacity for work. When the fun and frolic have been crushed by industry's routine, monotony and speedup, then the capacity to be a fast slave is also gone. Out with her! Aren't there a hundred more asking for her job?

* * *

Shoe workers are busier than a cat with nine tails. In Lynn it's the bosses trying to fasten \$100 forfeit bonds on each of their slaves to assure docility. The United Shoe Workers are putting up a stiff battle against this new contract, rivaling the yellow dog in audacity. The plot is that John Worker goes around hat in hand to ask Mr. Boss for a job, please. Mr. Boss looks kindly at

John, says he's a nice fellow, but just to guard against his joining one of them there unions, will he please deposit a \$100 forfeit. Mr. Boss can confiscate the \$100 any time he pleases if John joins the U. S. W. or "foments"—that's the word, isn't it?—a strike. The contract will be tested in the courts.

* * *

In Haverhill the Independent Shoe Workers Union has sheared the pomp and power of crafts which in pulling against each other had placed the entire union in jeopardy. Under the new plan the business agents of 10 jealous crafts are eliminated and in their place John Troxell, formerly with the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, is in charge of union administration, with a staff of assistants. So far the plan seems to be working out fairly well. One trouble is that many shoe bosses flee across the state line to escape the Haverhill jurisdiction. But that can be cured, Troxell hopes, with patient effective organizing methods.

* * *

A merry little row has grown up in circles known as the "official family" of the great A. F. of L., with Matty Woll and Georgie Berry heaving mud pies at each other. The issue presumably is the tariff, but we'll bet an old red shirt that personal rivalries and animosities engendered in that lovely piece of craft unionism, the Allied Printing Trades Council, is partly responsible. Both Matty, who is president of more things than you can shake a stick at, and Georgie, known in political circles as the "Majah" because he held down some swivel chair in Washington during the war, are Tories to the core. But Matty is a high tariff Tory and George strings with the low tariff crowd—which shows just how important the tariff is as a labor issue. The Major is out to get Matty at the Boston A. F. of L. convention, and with him go the best wishes not only of standpatters but of progressives as well. Matty can make a full time job out of the National Civic Federation, where there is no shortage of funds.

* * *

THE HERALD TRIBUNE is intensely conservative, but it estimates the nation's jobless at 6,500,000 on the basis of census returns. Federated Press, the na-

tional labor news service, is reputed by its foes to be wildly radical, but it estimates federal figures at 4,500,000 at the present rate. Both may probably be too high, for that part of the census at any rate was notoriously inefficient as every reader of *LABOR AGE* knows by his own experience and that of his friends. Even if there are less than 4,000,000, as President Green claims, it is a figure that would paralyze people sensitive to the enormous losses, both to society and the individual, in unemployment. If you have a spare moment some time in the near future, you are invited to tell the assembler of Flashes from the *Labor World* why people are so callous to the tragedy of unemployment, and what we labor agitators can do about it to agitate 'em.

* * *

Worms are noble animals compared with that type of "labor man" who backs Republican politicians. This reflection is animated by Laurence Todd's reports from Washington that no decent person has a ghost of a chance to become Secretary of Labor, succeeding the two-faced Davis. Grace Abbott, Ethelbert Stewart and Mary Anderson are the type of conscientious public servants long in labor department service who are entitled to the job. None is a radical but they sympathize thoroughly with one all-fundamental issue, that of labor's right to organize. But the great Stationary Engineer thinks not of them but of politicians of the stripe of Robt Carl White, Davis' right hand man in the deportation division. He is a typical Republican politician from Indiana, where Republicanism produces its most noisome specimens. Albert Johnson, the Hoquiam politician who is another deportation maniac, is also a likely choice for Davis' job. If Hoover really wants to convince workers that they have nothing to hope from his business men's government, he should by all means name either White or Johnson. They could do more to boost the membership of the Socialist Party and Communist Party than any other force in America.

* * *

The Switchmen, in convention assembled, voted to support a plan calling for closer ties among railroad unions, both those inside and outside the A. F. of L. The plan would set up a jurisdictional board to end the squabbling of the Switchmen-Trainmen, Engineers-Firemen and other disgraceful rows which are becoming highly serious. An offensive-defensive alliance is also contemplated. Against this step, please balance the fact that no word in the officers' report sketched plans for increasing the union's

scanty membership or reviewing past effort in that field. The truth is that to the Switchmen's officialdom, organizing has become a routine affair, given over to routine men with routine minds. Any of the Switchmen's officials, we venture to say, could handle successfully a \$35 a week clerk's job in General Electric. But we would hate to back them against discharge in any higher job. How shameful that organized labor should pay fancy wages to men whose records are stamped with failure.

* * *

The sort of a man worth \$10,000—but we doubt whether he'd take it—is Jim Maurer. He's got ideas and the power to turn them into reality. Witness the cheering crowd of conservative delegates at the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor convention for his Socialistic stump speech. By a fitting anomaly, the man worth \$25,000 to the Labor Movement wouldn't dream of accepting it. Jim as president of the Pennsylvania Federation got \$3,600. When reproached by other labor officials for getting so little, he reminded them it was still a whole lot more than the average Pennsylvania worker gets.

* * *

This would be a nice country, wouldn't it, if we could turn it over to the Daughters of the First (and only?) American Revolution, the Natl. Guard officers and the Security League. Here's Gen. (it's wonderful the number of generals who breed off the national guard heaps) Shouten, who is also president of the Grand Rapids Assn. of Commerce, shouting about what is too good for the radicals. He wants the business men's kids to knock hell out of the radical kids. "As for the adults, we ought to deport those who are not citizens and set up a whipping post for the rest."

* * *

We like to hear Edward McGrady of the A. F. of L.—who talks at times like a Rotarian—shouting out Marxian doctrines in good soapbox style in labor conventions. Down at the Hosiery Workers convention in Philadelphia McGrady dipped into the U. S. Statistical Abstract and came out with figures streaming through his fingers. "Look what I found," he shouted. "The value of our manufactured and farm products is \$72,500,000,000. Wages and salaries are \$50,000,000,000. Who gets the rest, and why, explains why workers can't buy back what they produce." Which is a pretty good paraphrase of old Carlo Marx himself.

* * *

Take off your hats to those Newmarket, N. H. cotton mill strikers who have

been out 17 months and they're still going strong. They struck way back in February, 1929 against a 10 per cent wage cut, and they're still out. "We'll never go back in that mill," they say, those sturdy Yankees and French Canadians. Every morning the picket lines surround the mills. One hundred and fifty sorry looking scabs file through to the mill where formerly 1,200 worked.

* * *

Quite a few people in Philadelphia made quite a fuss about the American Stores Co. burning bread it couldn't sell while tens of thousands go hungry. Too bad they can't get indignant about the industrial system which throws people out of work because they produce too much.

* * *

An uneasy leaven is working in the anthracite districts and may produce almost anything, despite John L. Lewis' neat little trick to sew up the miners for another five years in a contract that neither increases the pay nor lowers the hours. The anthracite is highly volatile and most anything can happen. Don't be surprised if some fine morning John L. finds he has lost his last per capita payers. Fifteen thousand miners were on the verge of strike in Pittston despite orders of their district officers, and opposition tickets are brewing in the union elections. On the other hand John L. undoubtedly has a crew of slick politicians, the like of which smothered the revolt in the last tri-district convention after delegates had run wild for a day.

* * *

The fact that his name is Woodrow Wilson didn't save a young Marion striker from being framed on a charge of burning a house that really didn't burn. Perhaps the miracle of this Marion trial, however, was that one striker was actually acquitted. One wonders where Bloody Sheriff Adkins was, that a jury could be selected that would see the union side of the case. Backed by all the good people of McDowell county—including church respectables—Adkins is rewarded for his unconscionable massacre of six pickets last fall by being re-nominated for sheriff.

* * *

Tear gas ain't good enough, the militia colonels have decided. You shoot a bunch of pickets, but still they get away from you. Blinding gas is the only medicine for them birds. That stops 'em in their tracks and makes their capture easy. Sawed off shot guns, that will tear a striker's head off at short range is another handy weapon, says Col. L. E. McGee of the Texas National Guard.

HARVEY O'CONNOR

Healthy Response To Latest C. P. L. A. Campaign

WHILE agitation for unemployment insurance is only one of the many activities in which the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is engaged, it is of sufficient immediate importance to devote a few paragraphs regarding its present status. Just as if they had been waiting for a signal, folks all over the land responded almost at once to our movement for a national system of unemployment insurance. They had come to the conclusion that dole or no dole, rugged individualism of the Hoover type had no chance at all with old man hunger. The best of individualists will admit in their off moments that some assistance is essential in these days of long bread lines and short pay rolls.

The first anniversary of the C. P. L. A., where the launching of the unemployment insurance campaign was celebrated, was a grand affair. Many people had to be turned away and those fortunate enough to have gotten in under the wire, had something to talk about for days thereafter. Not only was the program carried out completely as previously announced but at the last moment Oscar Ameringer, dean of American labor humorists, turned up. Of course, his services were soon drafted for the cause. In two seconds he had the audience in stitches. But despite the humor, or because of it, Ameringer's speech was full of those wise observations for which he is justly noted.

A. J. Muste, who as toastmaster, opened the speechmaking part of the program, announced that one of the planks in the program of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action was anti-imperialism. The fact that there were speakers on India, therefore, was in thorough accord with the complete program of the C. P. L. A. "If the Americans are going to form a Labor Party like the British it would be better for it never to be born," was the opinion of Sailendra-Nath Ghose. J. Vijaya-Tunga and Dr. John Lathrop, Unitarian Minister who had resided in India, the other two speakers on India, dwelt on the leadership of Mahatma Gan-

dhi and the chances of success of the passive resistance campaign.

No matter how interesting the discussion of Indian affairs may have been, the main interest centered around the plans projected by Louis Budenz, who is heading the drive for unemployment insurance and organization of the unorganized.

"The C. P. L. A. campaign," he stated "will be focussed around demands for unemployment insurance and a shorter work week, within unions and at the mill gates of open shop industries. These two objectives are urgent, immediate forms of relief in an intolerable unemployment situation which threatens to increase rather than diminish. The shorter work-week will give a job to many of those now clustering by the thousands at factory gates. And unemployment insurance will mitigate the worst suffering of those still on the jobline."

That both these campaigns will be well planned need not be doubted. For the campaign in front of mill gates amplifiers will be used so that large numbers of workers may be made interested in the union message. A complete loud speaker outfit will be purchased by the C. P. L. A. and put in

operation almost at once. As far as unemployment is concerned Louis Budenz is advising with the best known experts on the subject who are helping shape up a model bill to be introduced in the legislature of some state legislature next winter.

Among those who have thus far been consulted in framing a real unemployment insurance measure are Paul Brissenden, economist, of Columbia University; Alfred L. Bernheim, of the Labor Bureau, Inc.; Dr. Harry W. Laidler, of the League for Industrial Democracy; John A. Fitch, of the N. Y. School for Social Work; Murray W. Lattimer, of the Industrial Relations Counselors, and Nathan Fine of the Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science. The committee feels that within a few weeks the details for the plan will be ready and then they will be incorporated in a properly worded measure.

Anticipating the drive on unemployment insurance, the national office has issued a new pamphlet entitled, "One Year of C. P. L. A.," which should be in the hands of every member for distribution. It goes over quickly but at the same time accurately the changed industrial world since the de-

pression set in last November and the awakening of the workers to the hardships and insecurity of their lives. The pamphlet then recounts the C. P. L. A. accomplishments during its first year and what the C. P. L. A. hopes to do in the future. It details the steps by which individuals can be helpful in spreading the progressive idea. This pamphlet is free. Send for copies in sufficient quantities so that you will always have one at hand to give to a friend or neighbor.

While we are on the subject of pamphlets it is just as well to point to the two new pamphlets issued during the past month. Labor's Share in the Late Lamented Prosperity, which is the most ambitious piece of work yet undertaken by our Research and Publications Committee, takes apart the so-called prosperity which we were supposed to have been enjoying until quite recently, and tries to find out

THEM PESKY REDS AGAIN



Drawn for Labor Age by J. F. Anderson

For the first time in his career Congressman (Balyhoo) Blanton recognizes the A. F. of L., and helps William Green in the latest witch hunt.

DAZED



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley.
Head and feet do not coordinate.

what such prosperity means to the workers in terms of wages, better working conditions and a more equitable distribution of the national wealth. It is a job that should have been done a long time ago because without it we can all fall easy victims to the dulcet notes of any future prosperity siren that may appear on the horizon. As it is Labor's Share in the Late Lamented Prosperity shows exactly what prosperity, even under the best of conditions, means to those who are employed for wages.

The other pamphlet deals with the histories of three unions, which, because they couldn't adjust themselves to changing conditions, are either dissolved completely today or are mere shadows of their former greatness. "Why Unions Go Smash" is the title of that pamphlet. Needless to say, this is one pamphlet that no union man or woman, or anyone interested in the trade union movement, can afford to miss. While on the subject of pamphlets we may as well present here the full list of all the pamphlets published by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Six have thus far come off the press and they certainly cover a wide range of subjects on economic and industrial questions. C. P. L. A.ers should have a complete set on their shelves.

The pamphlets are: No. 1, Why a Labor Party?; No. 2, The Marion Murder; No. 3, The Negro Worker; No. 4, Gastonia; No. 5, Labor's Share in the Late Lamented Prosperity, and No. 6, Why Unions Go Smash. All are ten cents each except No. 5, which is sold at twenty cents.

II

Going through the country at present in an attempt to discover sentiment among the organized workers is like going through the land of the Pharaohs after seven years of hard luck. Perhaps the effete East cannot be taken as a criterion and industrial conditions in the new England area are much worse than anywhere else. But they will have to be very much better if the country in general is to carry out some of the predictions made by the

White House Daily forecasters. As far as New England is concerned, nothing less than a revolution will at present change conditions sufficiently for the worker to bother about. Whole towns are standing still waiting for something to happen. 80 to 60 per cent unemployment is the rule rather than the exception. The seasons come and go but leave unemployment practically untouched. The two most important industries, textiles and shoes, are both on the sick bed, the former threatening to remain in a permanent state of disability.

Believe it or not, in spite of the very serious industrial situation, the workers are not at all so greatly excited about it. That is, they are dissatisfied but consider the depression to be beyond the powers of Mr. Hoover to adjust. If they are suffering it is their hard luck. Good times will return sometimes.

Sentiment for a third party, where thus far no labor party has grown out of the local political situation, is practically non-existent. A few wide awake leaders may see in political action one way of alleviating the difficult situation they have to face. These leaders say that with a Labor Party they could get some of the unemployed members hopeful for future betterment. But these are the exceptions

rather than the rule. Generally speaking there has been such little thinking done on third party lines in the past that the idea is entirely too new for most workers to understand the idea itself. Many workers have thought Democratic and Republican parties for so long that they are not accustomed to consider anything else and it requires quite a mental twist to think in terms of a new political alignment. However, if the present agitation for a third party continues and if the present trends among the two old parties become intensified and they both assume all the aspects of big business vote gatherers, then workers will begin to think in terms of a labor party. They'll have to. Once they start thinking it won't take them so long to get at the nub of the matter. But at present the idea of a third party is far from their thought. All the more need for the propaganda and agitation the C. P. L. A. is spreading abroad in the land.

The workers do, however, prick up their ears when unemployment insurance is mentioned. They have to be convinced that it's the proper thing for them to do—to come to the government for aid. But their scruples are generally overcome and then they lend a favorable ear to the idea. There is nothing else left for them to hope for. There is no work. Their savings have already reached the vanishing point. Relatives are as badly off as they are. So they must listen to something new, even if it does sound wild. Hunger softens the most outrageous social proposal.

So unemployment insurance will go over because of the social need for it. From it, as a means of attaining this objective, will no doubt spring sentiment for a third party. So that at present both ideas work together, one complementing the other.

III

New friends for the C. P. L. A. idea were made in Haverhill towards the end of last month. Haverhill is first and last a union town where nothing matters but the Shoe Workers Protective Union, an independent organization. John P. Troxell, the district manager of the organization, is a warm supporter of the progressive cause. Troxell, together with his assistants, make a formidable front rank alignment for intelligent, up-to-the-minute unionism. While the industry is practically 100 per cent organized in Haverhill, there are a few recalcitrants who always attempt to escape the union rules by open shop methods

beyond the union's present jurisdiction.

The Shoe Workers Protective Union is planning to start a mopping up process, pretty soon, and Louis Budenz, of the organization department of C. P. L. A. will in all likelihood assist in this sponging campaign. This will be the first job in which our organization is to become active on, and a better job would be hard to find. At present the campaign is in the letter-writing stage only, but we hope that it will soon be brought out before the mill gates.

On June 9 to 16, the Buffalo branch of the C. P. L. A. held two meetings, the first one addressed by J. C. Kennedy of Brookwood Labor College and the second a cooperative affair with the League for Independent Political Action at which Howard Y. Williams spoke.

The June 9 meeting was a well attended one, the principal topic of the speaker being unemployment.

John C. Kennedy stated that the census taken in Buffalo, showing about twenty-five thousand wage earners to be unemployed was probably characteristic of the industrial centers throughout the country. This indicated the unemployment problem was nearly as acute in the United States as it is in some of the European countries.

"Much of the unemployment is due to the rapid technical changes which are occurring in industry," the speaker emphasized. "For example, the Department of Agriculture estimates that an average of two million people have left the farms every year since 1920. At the same time about one million two hundred thousand have left the cities for the farms each year. Thus there has been a net movement from the country to the city of eight million people during the last decade. Of these eight million it is estimated that two million five hundred thousand have become wage earners. This great movement from the country to city is caused primarily by the widespread utilization of tractors, combines, gas engines, better seeds, better fertilizer, and improved technique generally in agriculture. The smaller number of American farmers are producing as much or more produce in 1930 as the larger number did ten years ago.

"The same technical revolution that is making it possible for smaller numbers of farmers to produce all the agricultural produce which can be successfully marketed is affecting manufacturing, mining, transportation, and

in fact, every department of industry. It is this rationalization of industry which makes the unemployment problem acute and continuous. We must be prepared to deal with it not only this year, but for years to come."

Mr. Kennedy stated that there are many proposals for the relief of unemployment. For example, organized labor and Henry Ford are agreed that wages and the five-day week will be directly beneficial. Mr. Kennedy stated that these remedies are sound as far as they go, but that other measures will be needed. During periods of acute depression business enterprises should undertake improvements and construction work, and the governments should develop all contemplated public improvements.

After pointing out that old age pensions, by eliminating aged people from the labor market, the child labor legislation, which would eliminate children from the labor market, would both be helpful, Mr. Kennedy stated that even after everything had been done there probably would remain a large number who would be temporarily out of work.

Therefore, since some unemployment appears to be inevitable we should meet this situation intelligently and scientifically through a system of public labor exchanges and unemployment insurance.

Miss Florence E. Adams, who up to the present and since its inception, was secretary of the Buffalo branch, is leaving the city and a farewell dinner was given in her honor by a small group of her more intimate friends.

The Philadelphia Chapter is still holding on to its independent labor party idea and now, when after the primaries labor can not so easily be led astray between the two old parties, things look much brighter for a real third party alignment. At any rate, with Joe Schwartz to direct the activities, there is every possibility that this fall will see a genuine labor party in Quaker City.

In Butte, Montana, Chas. W. Gardner writes that "sentiment for independent political action is developing fast in this locality." Several unions, among them the teamsters, retail clerks, carpenters and some miscellaneous locals will be the nucleus of a third party.

"The retail clerks, machinists, teamsters and printers have received notices that the 'downtown' bosses intend to cut wages and it looks as though Butte will be in a general strike soon unless the bosses reconsider their attitude."

STATEMENT ON TARIFF GRAB

Strong condemnation of the forces which helped in the billion dollar tariff grab was voiced by Chairman A. J. Muste in the following statement:

"A Tariff Act has been passed which is the product of log-rolling by special interests; which has been condemned by the leading economists and a very large percentage of the leading editors, bankers and merchants of the nation; which was denounced even by its own sponsors such as Senator Grundy before it came up for a final vote; which furnishes 'protection' if at all to only a handful of workers and raises prices for all consumers; and which will cause other nations to raise higher tariff walls against us and seriously endanger the peace of the world.

"That a Republican Senate and House should pass and a Republican President should sign such a monstrosity gives no great cause for surprise. Some may wonder at the President's signature, but to the Conference for Progressive Labor Action his signature of a bill which he neither asked nor desired is only another evidence of the same lack of statesmanship and courage which we have always attributed to him. His contention that the inequities of the present bill can be remedied by presidential action under the flexible clause is sheer bunk. A similar provision existed under the old act. It was used in only a very few cases to accomplish revisions and most of these were upward!

"For labor a most tragic aspect of the situation arises from the fact that never before have so many prominent unions and labor leaders helped to lobby for higher rates; in other words, helped labor to cut its own throat. The chief offender has been the so-called American Wage Earners Protective League, headed by Vice-President Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor, who has thus added another item to his long list of disservices to labor.

"To the protest against his tariff activities which has already been voiced by President George L. Berry of the Pressmen's Union, millions more should be added, so that the nation may know that Mr. Woll has been speaking for only a handful of workers.

"The workers as a whole have absolutely nothing to gain from protective tariffs. Let them instead develop international labor solidarity, raising the standards of workers everywhere and thus put an end to ruinous competition between workers of various nations which can serve only to benefit special predatory interests."

In Other Lands

GREAT BRITAIN.

If the Highland witches of famed Macbeth were brought to life and their number multiplied by five thousand and set to work they could not cook a brew equal to the mess in which Ramsay MacDonald has got himself mixed. Heroic in opposition and when fighting great odds for the principles of social justice and economic freedom in the past he has become a sorry figure in the midst of a whirlpool of revolution, intrigue and unemployment in the present. He allowed the big navy men to dictate to him on the naval treaty. He surrendered a second time to the militarists who objected to the Channel Tunnel proposal. The textile barons of York, Lanark and Lancaster who forced their weavers to accept a cut in wages as well as submit to a harsh and grinding rationalization scheme dictate to MacDonald their Egyptian policy. He tells Cairo that Egypt can have its freedom but ties a string to it by withholding the Soudan. Though Egyptian men and money conquered that territory and civilized it, to the cotton lords of England cheap labor and cheap cotton are more important than noble principles and fine theories of self determination.

The report of the Simon Commission on India gave the Labor Government a breathing spell with the rest of the world. An analysis of the report reveals British politicians at their cleverest. No new principle is enunciated in the report nor is an old one restated in modern language.

The audacity of the report is remarkable and I don't wonder at the Hindus unanimously rejecting it. In order to get "freedom" the Indians must submit to a final and lasting conquest. Burmah, in deference to Cottonopolis, is to be amputated and I look for a similar operation on Beluchistan. Besides losing strikes and submitting to other setbacks the Labor Government lost a special election. The general weakness of the party and the government is only outdone by the weakness of the opposition. The latter is copying the American politicians and is using Parliament, not to oppose seriously the Government, but make propaganda and political addresses for home consumption. Lloyd George would like to be dangerous but he does not want a change—not now. The

Tories would not take office at this stage if it were flung at them. As a lesson on ruling class solidarity the latest from England is the best we have seen in a long time. Only Britain could furnish us such a striking example of unity in the face of trouble. Snowden's soothing syrup of low taxes has become the siren song of the middle classes while the martial notes of the class war are forgotten by the Labor Party.

Young Oswald Mosley's sacrifice of his ministerial post was about the only

to the tariff which he holds is the only remedy for unemployment ills. Thus while the doctors differ the disease grows. The number is now half a million more than when MacDonald took office. The strangest of all the strange acts of the Labor Party was the glorification of monarchial parasitism and the plea for its continuation as a part of the British constitution by Harold Laski in the "Daily Herald." Middle class imperialism could go no further.

A note of progress is seen in the proposed revival of the Economic Advisory Council. The trade agreement with Soviet Russia has brought business to Britain and is proving to be good for both countries. The Left Wing groups have gained new hope and courage as a result of their splendid fight for the unemployed. A clearer stand by the Left groups on India would have been better but their warnings of a revolt has sobered MacDonald, who is now less inclined to lean on the Liberal and Tory groups for support in emergencies. The most significant feature of domestic life in Britain is the trustification of the chemical, power, gas, light and other interests by Mond or Lord Melchett and his associates. I notice that as his firm and plants rationalize they throw thousands out of work. Production has increased ten fold but wages remain stationary or are cut.

CAUSES NERVOUSNESS



thing the young aristocrat could do. He made definite and well thought out proposals on Unemployment to MacDonald who referred them to a special committee of the most conservative members in the party. It was only natural that a committee consisting of Miss Bondfield, Tom Shaw, J. H. Thomas and one or two others like them should reject the Mosley papers. The discussion forced the issue of unemployment into Parliament and J. H. Thomas from one cabinet post to another. Now MacDonald invites opposition parties to join with him in declaring unemployment a national emergency and suggests their cooperating with him in solving it. Lloyd George was willing to help but MacDonald would not accept his conditions. Baldwin rejects the proposal on the ground that both MacDonald and George are opposed

FRANCE, GERMANY, ITALY

Paris continues serene, for France is prosperous and has no unemployed. It is wisely paying little attention to Mussolini and his outbursts. There is some feeling of nervousness regarding the immense expenditures on the part of Germany for small arms and for training the youth. Berlin tries to explain the huge waste of money by saying the Federal republic must do now what the states did formerly. This is only partly true. It is safe to say that the Reich is staging a comeback and is looking forward to a rectification of its Eastern frontiers. This cannot be done as long as harmony prevails between Paris and London. Some encouragement was given Berlin by Rome but the visit of Grandi, Mussolini's envoy, to Warsaw and his pro-Polish statement neutralized Italian dissatisfaction toward France. Stranger

(Continued on page 29)



"Say It With Books"



The Saga of A Great Socialist

Eugene V. Debs—A Man Unafraid. By McAlister Coleman, Greenberg: Publisher, New York. \$3.50.

NO one with a spark of imagination who has ever participated in the labor fight can fail to be profoundly moved by this fascinating biography. Despite obvious temptations the book is surprisingly free from sentimental slush. The author merely allows Debs' activities to speak for themselves, and we see his life unfold, dramatically and beautifully.

At 14 Debs went to work. Scraping paint from old railroad cars was his first job. A year later he was firing a locomotive engine. The call of unionism came and Gene responded like a duck to water. When Joshua Leach, an organizer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, visited Terre Haute he was immediately attracted to the young man who sat in the front row of the meeting eagerly drinking in every word. No wonder Leach picked Gene on the spot to be the leader of the local lodge and addressed him thusly, "My boy, you're a little young, but I believe you're in earnest and will make your mark in the Brotherhood." Prophetic words!

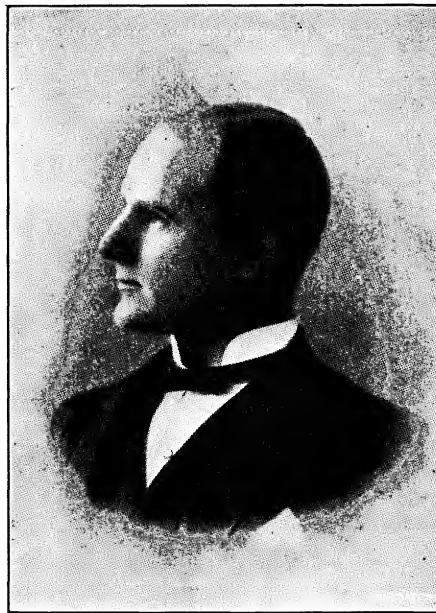
It may come as a surprise to many to learn that Debs started his labor career as a conservative. Undoubtedly the teachings of the Brotherhood's leaders were responsible for that. So mild was his first convention speech that the president of the local railway, the Vandalia, congratulated him. As assistant editor of the "Firemen's Magazine" he displayed "irreproachable respectability." At that time he approved heartily a convention resolution, which read, "We, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, here assembled in convention do hereby ignore strikes, and hereafter will settle all differences by arbitration."

Debs worked indefatigably for the union, winning the respect and admiration of the entire organization. When a secretary absconded with the union's funds, it was quite natural for the other officers to turn to Debs as the one man who had the full confidence of the mem-

bership to take hold of the situation. Some time later he was able to report to a Brotherhood convention that the union was out of debt, that it had 121 active lodges with a membership of 5,000. Debs proved that he was practical in every sense of the word.

He did not get results, however, without sacrifices. During the first year as an officer of the union he received nothing by way of salary. Instead, he paid

ORGANIZER OF THE RAILROADERS



EUGENE V. DEBS

When he was secretary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.

out \$800, more than half the salary he received as city clerk of Terre Haute to the Brotherhood, and this in spite of warnings and advice, such as, "You'll be robbed, Gene."

There were other instances to show that money could not lure him from his devotion to Labor, as when he was offered the managership of the American Press Association at three times the salary he was receiving. His reply was,

"I'm sorry to have to turn this down, but I'm for the working people." Or when he gave up his \$4,000 a year position as secretary of the Brotherhood when he could not get the organization to adopt his amalgamation plan. The convention delegates to whom he presented his resignation could not understand. They thought he was ill and tired, and voted him \$2,000 for a trip to Europe for "rest and enjoyment," which he would not accept. Can one imagine any business-union leader turning down such an opportunity to have a good time at the organization's expense!

As a result of lessons learned in the field of bitter union experience Debs became an ardent advocate of amalgamation—industrial unionism. He was soon to test out his theories. Six months in jail for contempt of court only created in Debs a real contempt for the judicial oligarchy and the entire capitalist system. It launched him actively on his political career.

Debs' contribution to the building and development of the Socialist Party is incalculable. There were others in the party who knew more about the theories of Socialism, but none who could match him in personality and warmth of character, none whom the workers trusted and loved as they did Gene Debs. As a campaigner he was without a peer. The Socialist vote grew until in 1912 Debs polled more than 900,000 votes. It was now a real factor in the political life of the country.

The world war came, and with it the wrecking of so much that Gene had given his life to. His abhorrence for the war was intense, and he had to declare himself. Once again he entered prison, this time an old man weary in body, but if anything stronger in spirit. Extremely moving is the description of Debs' agony during the trying days in Atlanta as convict No. 9653.

McAlister Coleman has written a splendid biography. No progressive laborite or Socialist should let the summer pass without reading it.

LEONARD BRIGHT.

ORGANIZER OF THE RAILROADERS



EUGENE V. DEBS

WORTH ONE DOLLAR, IF ONLY—

The Industrial Future of New England. Proceedings of the First New England Labor Congress held in Worcester, Mass., October 25-27, 1929. Workers Education Bureau Press. \$1.00

THE New England Labor Congress was chiefly distinguished by the number of invited notables who did not attend. President Green was not there. Matthew Woll was not there. Otto Beyer was not there. Neither was Owen D. Young. The governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine and Vermont were all sorry they could not attend. Only the presence of Ramsay MacDonald in this country kept President Hoover away. Secretary of Labor Davis found it "physically impossible" to be present. Mr. Joseph L. Anthony, president of the Manufacturers' Protective and Development Association was kept home by a cold, and John P. Frey, who impersonated President Green on the first day of the conference, had to double in brasses and present Mr. Anthony's sentiments on the second day. A mayor or so, the secretary of the Worcester Chamber of Commerce, the Hon. George R. Stobbs (who "after congratulating the labor movement on its initiative in calling the conference, referred to the tariff bill . . . and said greater cooperation is needed in New England for assuring its continued success") and two employers appeared, but on the whole, the headlines were a flop.

Some good things are recorded, however. John P. O'Connell described the union-management cooperation plan at the Naumkeag sheeting mill at Salem, Mass.; Harry E. Russell, New England representative of the W. E. B., had amassed significant statistics concerning industrial trends in New England; and John P. Frey, who actually wasted little time on Mr. Anthony's ideas, told in considerable detail of union-management cooperation as worked out in agreements between the foundry men's associations and the International Moulders' Union.

In conveying President Green's greetings to the Congress, Mr. Frey set forth the present position of the A. F. of L. in its opportunism—"we are not so interested in the ultimate relationships which will be established in industry as we are in having a form of organization which will enable the wage earners today to take up their problems and solve them;"—and in its desire for cooperation with employers—"A basic policy of the American Federation of Labor is that it is not only advisable but essential that the trade union movement should co-

operate with organized industry and commerce."

To criticize such policies is to lay one's self open to charges of being a hopeless idealist on the one hand and a destructionist on the other. Nevertheless, they are open to criticism. Certainly we must have in mind today's problems, but how can we "be convinced that our principles are sound" if we do not to some extent "concern ourselves with the problems which will arise long after we have passed away?"

For a conference that aimed to "bring together the representatives of Labor in New England . . . to take thought together on the economic problems with which the workers are confronted and to explore the possibilities of . . . closer cooperation," there was a good deal of back patting and pipe dreaming. The parson who told the delegates that it was their duty "to make this old world . . . a little bit of Heaven on earth" was hardly more indefinite than Thomas E. Burke, president of the W. E. B., with his 160 word non-stop sentences. It seems a little unfair of Secretary Miller not to have revised what is evidently a stenographic report of President Burke's speech.

In sharp contrast to this flapdoodle was the address of Ethelbert Stewart of the Bureau of Labor Statistics who, fortunately for the Congress, was pinch-hitting for his chief, Secretary Davis. In "The Need of Statistics as a Measure of Industrial Changes" he drew a thought-provoking picture of the problems that wage saving machinery (to quote Jim Maurer) and shifting industrial centers have brought about. Also, he punched holes in the pretty pastels that some of the speakers had achieved with their statistics. "It does not do the textile worker in New England, skilled in the weaving of fine fabrics, any good to know that . . . 700,000 bales of cotton are consumed each year in the manufacture of automobile tires."

The discussions of the committees on building trades, transportation, boots and shoes, label trades, textiles, metal trades, and power are unfortunately not recorded in the proceedings. If there was any educational value in this Congress, it would be chiefly in such sessions, as there was no discussion from the floor, even of the speeches, except when James Moriarty of the Boston Sheet Metal Workers sounded a harsh note in the symphony of love by taking exception to the criticism of jurisdictional disputes voiced by John J. Scully, president of the Building Trades Employers' Association of Boston.

The 72-page booklet is worth the dollar, if only as a record of how educational conferences ought not be conducted.

HELEN G. NORTON.

A STATISTICAL STUDY

The Factory Worker in American Society. By Jurgen and Marguerite Kuczynski. Published by C. L. Hirschfeld, Leipzig, Germany.

THIS treatise is a compilation of facts and figures regarding the status of the American factory worker of this decade. It is a comparative study of working hours, wages and labor conditions of male, female and child labor in the United States, including money and real wages, productivity, old age and accident insurance, such as there are, and various other workers' compensations by federal, state and union agencies. The purpose of the volume is to prove that continuous industrial activity is possible if the purchasing power of the various groups is regulated.

"If it could be ascertained," say the authors, "what the purchasing power of the population is, as compared with the national production of goods, then it would be possible to equalize these by raising the purchasing power. When it is established, for example, that the purchasing power of wages diminish, it should of necessity be raised in order that the proper equilibrium be maintained. Moreover, should it be ascertained that the purchasing power of profits increase too much, profits would be lowered, and so on."

In spite of its theory the book is valuable as a statistical study of America. Both of the authors had unique experiences in American labor life and exceptional opportunities to gather specialized information. Mr. Jurgen Kuczynski was statistician for the American Federation of Labor and Marguerite Kuczynski was for a number of years assistant to Dr. Leo Wolman of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

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Reenforcing Feelings With Facts

"When I started to speak, they all laughed at me."

Sounds familiar, doesn't it? Don't be alarmed, though. This isn't high pressure salesmanship for a correspondence course in French.

But that *has* happened to you, hasn't it? You stood up to speak at a meeting—your tongue got dry, your voice sounded funny in your own ears, your arguments just melted out of your mind. And all you got was the horse-laugh.

Why? Well, partly because you were just plain scared. And partly because you didn't have your facts marshalled in orderly fashion. You didn't have *enough* facts. All you had was emotion—a *feeling* that you couldn't get across to someone else at all.

That's the trouble with a lot of us workers.

We know—but we don't know enough.

The textile worker knows it's wrong to double his number of looms, both because it tires him out and because if he produces twice as much cloth, some other worker gets the gate. But as to why the speed-up is introduced, why mills are moving South, why competition is so fierce, he knows a little less than nothing. The miner knows that the coal industry has gone to the bow-wows, he knows that when the union was stronger he got better wages. But why coal consumption has fallen off, why the union has lost its grip on the operators—these are matters of vague conjecture.

Mr. John J. Citizen may be irritated by the fact that however full of loving-kindness a candidate may be before election, he promptly forgets all about the American working man being the Backbone of our Civilization as soon as he gets into office. Mr. Citizen may think now and then that maybe the workers should have a party of their own and that perhaps the union is a good thing, but as soon as someone begins to orate about individual freedom and the non-partisan political policy, he gets flustered.

And that's something that saying Ah-ah-ah before the mirror and practising gestures denoting emotion, persuasion, and conviction as recommended in mail order correspondence courses won't cure. *You've got to have the facts.*

That's why Brookwood Labor College

believes in a varied mental diet for its students.

Brookwood's job is to give workers the low-down on things as they are; to substitute concrete knowledge of wages and profits and injunctions, of trends in history, politics and industry for these vague *feelings* about them that curdle inside you when you can't express them adequately and will in time make a chronic grouch of you. There are two parts to this educational process: (1) furnishing a background of general information about labor problems, human nature and world affairs; (2) teaching students how to use the tools for acquiring and imparting information.

The "background" courses include economics, American industrial history, his-

BROOKWOOD GRADUATES, 1930



Workers from 14 states and Canada are in this group—machinists, textile workers, carpenters, needle trades workers, miners, office workers, longshoremen, laundry workers, railway workers, radio workers, furriers and steel workers.

tory of the labor movements of this and other countries, labor organizations problems, economic geography, and current events. The "tool" courses include public speaking, written and spoken English, labor journalism, psychology, organizing methods, and a short course called library methods which shows you how to get useful material from reference books, bulletins, charts, etc.

Does this sound good to you? Would you like to go to a school where such things were studied? Well, there's a chance that you can next fall. But you'll have to hurry, because there are a lot of applications in already, and the student body is limited to 38 or 40.

Where is this school?

At Katonah, N. Y., 43 miles from New York City.

How much does it cost?

Two hundred dollars for an 8-months term, if you pay your own way; \$450 if your union or some other group furnishes a scholarship. It costs the school around \$900 to teach, feed, house, warm and launder a student, but so many labor groups and individuals are interested in making this sort of education available to workers that they contribute the remainder.

How long is the course?

Eight months, from September 28 to May 9.

Who else will be there?

Workers from all over the country and from all sorts of industries. (Last year the 28 students represented 16 trades and came from 14 states and Canada.) Young folks, mostly, both men and women. Most of them are trade unionists and the rest would be if there were a union for them to belong to.

Who are the teachers?

Men and women with practical labor experience to back up their knowledge—teachers such as A. J. Muste, Josephine Colby, David J. Saposs, Helen Norton, J. C. Kennedy and Tom Tippet. You've seen those names in *LABOR AGE*.

What do you do now?

Write for an application blank and a bulletin describing the school and the courses in detail. If you can't come this year, there are correspondence courses in economics, labor history and public speaking to give you some Brookwood education at long distance. Address your inquiries to

Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., or fill out the blank on this page.

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Katonah, N. Y.

Please send me (check the material you want)

- ☐ A Brookwood Bulletin and Announcement of Courses.
- ☐ A student application blank
- ☐ A Correspondence Course Bulletin

Name

Address

Occupation

PRACTICAL PLANS

(Continued from page 8)

and to provide pensions, which, together with income, amount to \$1.50 a day. The introduction of the single tax, the full taxation of increased land values, or the abolition of capitalism in the United States are still a long way off.

To conclude, on the subject of "alternative solutions," there is a place in a comprehensive attack on unemployment for nearly every preventive step and for every alleviating measure which is in accord with sound public policy, from a labor point of view. More power to those who are studying individual plant, industrial, seasonal and cyclical unemployment. More power to the trade union movement in its efforts to maintain and raise wages and shorten hours, and to those who seek to organize the unorganized and infuse them with a working class philosophy. More power to those who are exploring the possibilities of planned public works, and to those who are pushing social legislation for child-protection, pensions to the aged, and an extensive system of public employment offices, unified, properly manned, and efficient. But it is as certain as anything can be, that there will be a residue, and that not a small one by any means, of the unemployed in so-called prosperous years, to say nothing of depressed periods, no matter what progress is made along the lines indicated above.

Scope, Contributions, Benefits, and Administration

There is not room here to discuss even briefly the sections of state and national unemployment insurance bills. All that can be said in passing is that a well organized labor market, a national system of employment exchanges, is an indispensable foundation for unemployment insurance. In nearly all countries agricultural workers, domestic servants, certain classes of salaried workers and government employees and those earning above a stipulated income are generally excluded. In Great Britain contributions are on a flat basis for men, women, and boys and girls, and so are benefits. In Germany, on the other hand, contributions and benefits are on a sliding scale, dependent upon wages received. In all lands where there is a compulsory or voluntary system the government contributes, either for ordinary or extraordinary unemployment. The workers pay everywhere, and the employers contribute under all state compulsory schemes.

Perhaps the simplest plan in the United States would be one in which the employer, the worker, and the state government each contributed 1½ per cent of the wage or salary. The national government could add another one per cent, whenever a federal bill is adopted. Benefits could constitute 40 per cent of regular wage and run to a maximum of 26 weeks in one year. For those without work more than six months, special efforts would be made to retain the worker and relocate him in the industry. Finally, in periods of continued depression the government would have to increase its share, for no insurance scheme is likely to bear the strain at such times.

IN OTHER LANDS

(Continued from Page 25)

than all is the sympathetic attention Germany is giving the Briand proposals for the United States of Europe. Britain was cool to it but now the American tariff has forced London to be more inclined to listen to Briand. Italy thinks Russia will profit by Washington's tariff. The ban against free speech and free press is being slowly lifted and indications are that the Fascisti are staging

a retreat from their dictatorship to a modified parliamentary government. Some observers think Mussolini is no longer boss but a figure head.

The Pope continues to attack Mussolini's ideas of citizenship but the Fascisti press do not publish the Vatican's declarations. Some people are pleased, regardless of the merits of the dispute between the two dictators, that someone is taking a fall out of the Duce.

RUMANIA, BULGARIA AND THE BALKANS.

A palace revolution has succeeded in Bucharest and the exiled Carol is back on the throne of his son. The Regency is ended. There is no real economic significance in the change though it may yet lead to serious political consequences. Carol and his backers are pro-German. Bratiano and Marie were pro-French and pro-British. Her failure to raise a loan in Paris and New York three years ago and the disgust of the agrarians with Bratiano's group led to the re-calling of Carol. Whether the new king and his party will be able to prevent the rectification of the boundaries against the continued pressure of Hungary, Bulgaria and Russia is another matter. The Soviet still claims Besarabia and soon it will be in a position to take it. Czar Ferdinand, the Fox of the Balkans, has returned from Germany and while he is now an old man prophets are saying he may induce King Boris to begin an expansionist policy and have a try with Rumania for the provinces taken during the Versailles Peace Congress. The new elements developing in the Balkans are inclined to the policy of Mussolini who is against the Jugo-Slavs. All Balkan states are vigorously jailing and persecuting socialists, radicals and communists. Persecution seems to be the only thing Balkans can unite on.

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